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GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH:

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER,

BY

JOSEPH TORREY,

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

NEW EDITION, WITH A GENERAL INDEX.

~~~~~  
"I am come to send fire on the earth."—*Words of our Lord.*

"And the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." "But other foundation  
can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus."—*St. Paul.*  
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VOLUME NINTH.

PART THE FIRST.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

ON me, after the death of my much-loved teacher and paternal friend, was devolved the task of preparing for the press the last greater work of the lamented Neander, the sixth volume of his church history. Having discharged this no less honourable than arduous duty, I now think it due to the respected reader that I should give some brief account of the method according to which I have proceeded.

In the abstract, two possible ways indeed presented themselves in which this volume might be prepared for the public eye: either to follow out the subject, in accordance with the plan and preparatory labours of Neander down to the point of time he originally proposed to himself—the commencement of the Reformation—or to publish it in the fragmentary shape in which it was left. Pious regard to the style of a work peculiarly original in its kind, and the design of Neander, expressed shortly before his death, of publishing a part of the materials here presented, equally forbade the former of these methods. And yet in adopting the latter plan, liberty was still left to the editor of executing his task in very different ways. He might, perhaps, consider himself

justified, in the case of fragments of this sort, in giving them a finer polish by applying the last finishing hand. But the undersigned has felt bound to abstain even from this. It has been his endeavour to present the work of Neander with the least possible curtailment, and with the least possible additions of his own; and it has been his wish rather to be found too faithfully exact, or if you please slavish, than arbitrary in the labours he has bestowed. Nevertheless, in hundreds of places he has altered the text, and in a still greater number of instances corrected the notes. But in so doing he has only taken the same liberty which the lamented author, while living, had already allowed him to use in the publication of his more recent works, the new editions of St. Bernard, of Chrysostom, and of Tertullian; with this difference, indeed, that with regard to these latter, he could in all difficult cases refer to the author himself, while in the present case, he had to decide according to his own best judgment. Unhappily the editor, who by long exercise had become tolerably familiar with Neander's method of composing, did not have it in his power to lend the beloved man of God a helping hand, except in a small portion of this work; and various circumstances, such as a growing infirmity of sight, and occasional sudden interruptions closely connected with this calamity, the illegibility of his excerpts made in earlier years, want of practice in his last assistants, and various other causes, conspired together to render his labours more difficult, nay, if possible, distasteful to the restlessly active investigator. Once and again he had even entertained the thought of bringing his work to a close in the form of a brief compendium; but strong attachment to the labour of his life, ever breaking forth afresh, and the hope that he might perhaps yet recover the

use of his eyesight, constantly brought him back again to the extremely painful and yet dearly beloved continuation of the task he had begun. How natural, that the manuscripts he left behind him should also, in various ways, bear upon them the marks of their origin! The editor, therefore, has not hesitated to correct all manifest errors of fact, so far as they came to his knowledge, whether arising from some misunderstanding of the assistants, or, as the case often was, from the illegibility of Neander's excerpts, or from any other cause. In all cases where the matter was at all doubtful, I have allowed the text to be printed without alteration, or at most simply intimated my doubts in the shape of notes. The style moreover has been, in here and there an instance, slightly altered by me, and repetitions of longer or shorter extent, such as were almost unavoidable in a work which sprang purely out of the recollection of Neander, expunged. Among the papers, furthermore, were found a series of sheets which Neander had marked, partly with a conjectural indication of their being designed, on a final revision, for insertion in their appropriate places. These I have carefully inserted wherever it could be done, either at once, or only with some slight alteration of form, and have never laid them aside except in those cases where their insertion would have required an entire recasting of the text. But additions and the completion of defective parts, in the strict and proper sense, I have never allowed myself to make, except on literary points, and that in perfect accordance with Neander's wishes. Unhappily the more recent works on church history are often, in this respect, in the highest degree unreliable, as one author is found to copy the false citations of another. Lewis's History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wicklif, for

example, is a work which seems actually to have been in the hands of very few of our church historians.

In proceeding to make a few brief remarks on single portions of the present volume, let me begin by observing that the first portion which relates to the history of the papacy and of the church constitution down to the time of the council of Basle, as it was the earliest in the time of its composition, is manifestly also the most complete as to form. As regards the continuation of this section, Neander left behind only a series of preparatory papers, but no proper sketch of the whole, nor even elaboration of single passages. This latter labour had been bestowed indeed upon passages belonging to the second section treating of the Reformation of England; yet these single passages, attached for the most part to the unfinished exposition of Wickliff's doctrines, were so unconnected, that the editor felt himself compelled, in following out his principle, to leave them aside. And he considered himself the more justified in so doing, because they contained little else than translations of single passages from the work of Vaughan. The third principal section, relating to the history of the Bohemian reformers, belongs among those parts which Neander constantly treated with especial predilection. It will assuredly afford no small satisfaction to the admirers of the great departed, to find that it was at least permitted him to bring to its close the history of John Huss; and if this, too, is here presented to us, as the well-informed reader will be at no loss to discern that it is, only in its first rough sketch, yet this very circumstance enables us to see more profoundly into the intellectual power and vigour of the departed historian, which was preserved unimpaired to the end.

We can only wish that the new light thrown by Neander on the great Bohemian reformers might serve as a stimulus to some competent hand soon to furnish us with an edition of the hitherto unpublished writings of Miltitz, of Conrad of Waldhausen, and particularly of the pioneer work of Matthias of Janow. Also a new edition of the works of John Huss, or at least the preparation of a chronologically arranged edition of his letters, belongs among the *pis desideris* in the department of church history. Many of the preliminary labours to such a performance are to be found in the excellent work of Palacky. Neander has repeatedly alluded to the incorrectness and inexactitude of the Nuremberg edition of 1558, and the passages adduced by him might easily be multiplied to tenfold the number. Such a monument is due from us Protestants to the memory of John Huss, of whom our Luther, in his lectures on Isaiah, so strikingly remarks: "Existimo Johannem Huss suo sanguine peperisse Evangelion, quod nunc habemus." A man of learning so enthusiastic in his admiration of Huss as M. Ferdinand B. Mikowic, who has already favoured us with a new corrected translation of the letters that had been already published by Luther, would be just the person to engage in such an undertaking. The Bohemian work containing the letter of Huss should be published in Bohemian, with a German or Latin translation on the opposite columns. Such an enterprise would certainly be crowned with success. Finally, on the section relating to the German Friends of God, Neander was still occupied during the last days of his life; in truth, the habitual occupation of his mind with the work of his life intermingled among the pleasing fancies that floated before the mind of this departing friend of God.

Gladly would I, in compliance with the urgent wishes of Neander's admirers, have hurried to a speedier conclusion the publication of the present volume; but this could not be done in connection with my professional duties. Besides, there were other hindrances. The library of Neander, unhappily, did not stand at my command. Several works and editions which Neander had cited, such as Lewis's History of Wicklif, and the first edition of Vaughan's work, were not to be found, even in the Royal Library in this place, and they could not otherwise be obtained than by ordering them from England. I may doubtless rely, therefore, on the kind indulgence of my readers. But I confidently hope, too, and this would be my best reward, that faithfulness to my never-to-be-forgotten master, and to his work, will not be found wanting.

K. F. TH. SCHNEIDER.

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CHURCH HISTORY.

SIXTH PERIOD. FROM BONIFACE VIII. TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN 1517.

SECTION FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE PAPACY, AND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

THE period of Church History which we now propose to consider, is one where an old creation of Christianity, showing signs of decay and an ever-increasing tendency to corruption, is passing over to the new one which was destined to succeed it. The peculiarity of such a period of transition, conducting from the dissolution of an old, to the dawning life of a new world, is, that on the one hand, we see all the corruptions that had so long been preparing, finally reach their highest point, and on the other, occasioned and urged forward by those very corruptions, the reaction of new tendencies of the Christian spirit, betokening new and better times. The stirrings of a new spirit, manifesting itself with fresh and ever-increasing vigour in its struggles with the old, and the multiform combinations in which new and old appear commingled, form the significant feature of this period. Such periods of transition are of peculiar interest, because we see in them the first unfolding of those germs in which the future lies hidden. These remarks apply in a particular manner to that portion of the history of the papacy which we propose, first of all, to consider. The power of the papacy, having its seat in the affections of men, and resting on their most profound convictions, could not be

overthrown by any force coming from without. Every struggle, as we have seen, in which it was aimed to effect this overthrow, resulted eventually in a failure, so long as this power in the mind of the nations was a necessary one in the historical progress of the church. But this power must prepare the way for its own destruction by its increasing worldliness, and desecration to subserve selfish ends; and thus were called forth, in ever-increasing force, the reactions of the Christian spirit struggling for freedom, and attempts at reform constantly growing more violent. Such a state of things we shall see developing itself more and more distinctly from the time of Boniface VIII. and onward. This pope, a man without any pretensions to spiritual character, or even moral worth, carried papal absolutism to the highest pitch it ever reached; and he was forced to see himself reduced to the most severe humiliations; nor can we fail to recognize the guiding hand of a higher wisdom, when we observe how the humiliations to which he was reduced contributed, by the consequences that followed, to bring on that whole train of succeeding contests which made the existing church-system of the medieval theocracy totter to its foundation. We shall here be able to trace the connection of one link with another in the chain of these great events, down to the time of the general councils.

Cardinal Benedict Cajetan, a man supremely governed by considerations of worldly interest, after having by crafty management procured the abdication of his predecessor Celestin, whose temper presented the strongest contrast to his own, succeeded next, by the same arts, in reaching the consummation of all his wishes and designs, the papal chair; and his whole administration was of a piece with such a beginning. His suspicions compelled him to keep his predecessor closely confined; for he was afraid that Celestin might be persuaded to reassert his claims to the papal dignity; and was certain that if he did so, he would be backed up by a party of malcontents who had always denied the lawfulness of his abdication, since they maintained that he who held the highest station on earth, the pope, could never, either by his own act or that of others, be discharged from the responsibility

which God had laid on him. Constant additions would naturally be made to this party, in consequence of the manner in which Boniface administered the papacy, and they would welcome any opportunity of securing for themselves such a rallying point. The anxiety of Boniface was assuredly, therefore, not without foundation. Celestin, however, bore his confinement and the dishonourable treatment to which he was subjected, with calm resignation; and in this confinement he met his end in a manner worthy of his pious life. A report, which, if not true, shows at least in what light Boniface was regarded by his contemporaries, charges him with the crime of taking off Celestin by poison.

Boniface manifested from the beginning, that the motives by which he was supremely governed were ambition, avarice, and revenge. Conscientious scruples never deterred him from resorting to any means whereby something more could be added to his treasures.* The pope's plenitude of power, the interest of the church, must serve to palliate the worst oppressions. He sowed the seeds of a great deal of corruption, too, in the next succeeding times, by elevating, without the least regard to the good of the church, his own kinsmen to the rank of cardinals, or to the higher spiritual dignities. One bad means to which he resorted to replenish his treasury, was taking advantage of the great festival connected with the ushering in of the fourteenth century: whether the fact was, that the pope's cupidity merely availed itself of an occurrence which would have taken place without his seek-

* A contemporary, John Villani, the Florentine historian, says of him that he knew how to maintain and promote the interests of the church. (*Seppa bene mantenere e avanzare le ragioni della chiesa.*) But what interests? He explains by saying the pope accumulated a vast amount of money for the purpose of aggrandizing the church, and ennobling his family, having no scruples about the means (*non facendo coscienza di guadagno*), for he said it was allowable to do anything to advance the interests of the church. The same writer remarks that he was a man of lofty spirit, (*molto magnanimo*), and understood well how to play the lord (*esignorile*, lib. 8, cap. 6); and he says that he was much given to worldly pomp, which became his high station, (*vago fu molto della pompa mondana secondo suo stato*—lib. 8, cap. 64; cf. Muratori Script. Rer. Italic. tom. XIII.)

ing, or whether the whole thing was purely a contrivance of his own. As the beginning of the new century drew near, a report was circulated through Rome, that all persons visiting the church of St. Peter in that city on the first day of January should obtain an extraordinary indulgence. Moved by this report, multitudes flocked to the church towards evening, filling it to overflowing, so that it was nearly impossible to press through the crowd to the altar. This movement on the part of the people was regarded as something divine; or, if it took place naturally, still inasmuch as it had occurred, it was determined to make the best of it. The stories of a man over a hundred years old, who related what had been done at the beginning of the preceding century, added to the impression. Thereupon the pope put forth a bull, granting the fullest indulgence to all Romans who for thirty days, and to all strangers who for fifteen days, in this year, reckoning from the Easter festival, should devoutly visit the churches of St. Peter and of St. Paul in Rome; on the condition, however, carefully specified, that they truly repented and confessed their sins.* The expression used in the bull was, "the fullest forgiveness of sins," a promise which, thus vaguely expressed, was directly calculated to inspire many with a greater feeling of security in sin, as well as to encourage the abuse of indulgences. Attracted by this bull, vast multitudes of men and women, of all ages, from districts far and near, flocked together in Rome. In addition to the rest, the exhibition of the pretended handkerchief of St. Veronica was employed as a powerful means of excitement. Two hundred thousand pilgrims a day are said to have assembled together in Rome—a source of great gain to the church, as well as of wealth to the Romans.

The unspiritual temper of this pope showed itself in the implacable hatred with which he persecuted his enemies. Thus he could not fail to place himself in the most unfavourable light to his contemporaries; while by other acts into which he allowed his passions to hurry him, he con-

* The words of the bull: *Non solum plenam et largiorem, imo plenissimam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum.*

tributed to provoke the storms by which his reign was disturbed. When a cardinal, he was zealously devoted to the Ghibelline party; but no sooner had he become pope, than he turned into a fierce partisan of the Guelphs: and the wrath which he harboured against the former party exceeded all bounds. The following instance may be cited in illustration of his passionate spirit, which could profanely break forth on the most sacred occasions. We are told that on one occasion when sprinkling ashes, according to the usage on Ash-Wednesday, over the head of an archbishop of Genoa, belonging to the Ghibellines, instead of reciting the words of the Psalm: "Memento quia cinis es et in cinerem reverteris," he travestied them, and said: "Quia Ghibellinus es, cum Ghibellinis in cinerem reverteris." Of a pope who could descend to such trifling, it is not difficult to account for the report which got abroad, and which was afterwards used against him, that his professions of reverence for the things of faith were wholly without sincerity.

At the head of his enemies stood the widely-branched and powerful family of the Colonnas, to which two cardinals belonged. These had opposed Boniface's election, and he therefore hated them. He gladly seized upon an opportunity that soon offered itself to strike a blow at the whole family. A knight connected with it had attacked and plundered a convoy of the papal treasure on its way to Rome. He took this occasion to put forth, in the year 1297, against the entire family, a terrible bull, recounting all their sins, from distant generations to the present, deposing them from all their spiritual and secular offices, and pronouncing them under the ban. Their castles in Rome were demolished; their estates confiscated. This step was attended with very important consequences. The two cardinals of the family, who did not recognize the validity of the act by which they were deposed, published a protest* against Boniface and his proceedings. In this they endeavoured to prove that he was not to be considered as the lawful pope; for the pope, being a vicar of Christ, could not be deprived of his office by any one

* Printed in the Appendix to Raynaldi Annales, year 1297, No. 34.

but God. Celestin was still, therefore, the only lawful pope, whose place could not rightly be filled by the substitution of another individual. But even supposing an abdication of this sort, made by a pope, were ever valid, it was not so in the case of Celestin, because it had been brought about by cunning and fraudulent management on the part of Boniface.* They appealed to a general council, to be convened for the purpose of settling this dispute, which so nearly concerned the well-being of the whole church. Thus we see, first called forth by the wicked acts of this pope, an appeal to the higher tribunal of a general council, assembled to pass judgment on the pope;—an appeal, which, for the present, indeed, met with no response,—but is still worthy of notice, as the first impulse towards calling into action a power in the church, which afterwards obtained an ascendancy so great, and so dangerous to papal absolutism. At this time, the regularity of Boniface's election was defended against the objections of the Colonnas by other persons in the service of the Roman court. Controversy with the pen was followed up by a bloody contest between the two parties. The pope used his spiritual power to gratify his personal animosities. He proclaimed a crusade against the Colonnas; and to take part in a war of revenge was made a condition of the pardon of sins. The Colonnas were compelled to yield to superior force. In the year 1298, they threw themselves at the pope's feet. He promised them forgiveness, and bestowed upon them absolution. But they found afterwards that they had been deceived by him. They again rebelled; and the pope renewed his sentence of excommunication. To secure safety to their persons, they fled from Italy. Several of their number betook themselves to France, where the pride of the pope soon gave them ample opportunity for revenge.

In King Philip the Fair of France the pope found an antagonist quite his equal in avarice and ambition, and in

* The noticeable words are: *Quod in renuntiatione ipsius multæ fraudes et doli, conditiones et intendimenta et machinamenta et tales et talia intervenisse multipliciter asseruntur, quod esto, quod posset fieri renuntiatio, de quo merito dubitatur, ipsam vitiarent et redderent illegitimam, inefficacem et nullam.*

that unflinching policy which never blushed at a crime, though in pursuit of opposite interests. When this king demanded that the spiritual order should in common with all other classes, contribute money towards defraying the expenses of his wars, Boniface, who looked upon this as an encroachment on the liberties of the church, was induced, in the year 1296, to put forth a bull, known from its commencing words by the title, "*Clericis laicos*," and aimed against King Philip, though his name is not mentioned. In this bull, all princes and nobles were pronounced under ban, who demanded tribute, under any form, from the church and the clergy; and all who paid such tribute were involved in the same condemnation and penalty. Against this bull the king put forth a declaration, remarkable as containing the evidence of a more liberal spirit, in opposition to the medieval theocracy, a spirit which had never, indeed, ceased to propagate itself in opposition to papal absolutism, and which was constantly emerging to the light whenever a favourable occasion presented itself; but the language we now hear employed partakes of a bold freedom, such as had not been heard for a long time. The church, it was said, does not consist of the clergy alone, but also of laymen. The liberty which Christ achieved for the faithful, freedom from the dominion of sin and of Satan, and from the yoke of the law, belongs not to the clergy alone, but also to the laity. Has Christ died and risen again solely for the clergy? God forbid. Is there such respect for persons with God, as that the clergy alone are to obtain grace in this life and glory in the life to come? No. To all alike who by faith and love bring forth the fruits of goodness has he promised the reward of eternal felicity; and the clergy, therefore, have no title to appropriate exclusively to themselves the ecclesiastical freedom that belongs to all, understanding thereby the freedom obtained for us by the grace of Christ. But from this universal freedom, are to be distinguished the special liberties which by the ordinances of the popes, the favour, or at least the sufferance of princes, have been bestowed on the ministers of public worship. Yet, by these liberties, kings ought not to be hindered in the government and defence of their realms; even as Christ said to the priest of the temple, that

they should render to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. Have not those persons rendered in a perverted sense to God, who have sought to alter and distort the old and natural law according to their own caprice? What reasonable man must not be filled with astonishment at hearing that the vicar of Christ forbids the emperor to institute tribute; and with the threat of excommunication fulminates an order, that the clergy should not rally in support of the king, of the realm, nay, in defence of themselves against unjust attacks, according to their ability? Next, allusion is made to the worldly lives of the clergy; and it is objected to the pope, that he connived at this evil, while he prohibited ecclesiastics from fulfilling their duties to the civil powers. To squander away money, it is said, on theatrical exhibitions and worldly pleasures at the expense of the poor; to make extravagant expenditures for dress, for horses, for feasts, and entertainments: all this is permitted them, as an example for corrupt imitation. But it was alike contrary to nature and to reason, to divine law and to human, to be lavish in granting that which is not permitted, and eager to hinder that which is not only permitted, but even necessary. The king avowed his respect for the church and its ministers; but at the same time declared, that he did not fear the unreasonable and unrighteous threats of men.

This first quarrel was, it is true, soon afterwards hushed up, when the king accepted the mediation of the pope in settling his political strifes. In no long time, however, it broke out again with an increase of violence. Boniface complained of the manifold oppressions suffered by the church in France; and in the year 1301 set forth his grievances through a legate, who had already on a previous occasion made himself odious to the French government, and who, by his character and his principles which he avowed without reserve, was the very man to bring about a rupture which could not be healed. This was the bishop Saiset de Pamiers. He told the king, that although the seat of his bishopric came under French jurisdiction, yet, as a bishop he was not the king's subject, but amenable, in secular things as well as ecclesiastical, to the pope. He threatened the king with the ban, and his whole realm with the inter-

dict. Unanswered and with contempt, the bishop was sent out of the kingdom. Soon, however, he ventured to appear again in his diocese. The consequence of his rebellious conduct was his arrest. It so happened, that the irascible pope, perhaps in the first outburst of wrath, sent a letter to the king, composed with dictatorial brevity, and commencing thus: "Thou art to know, that in things spiritual and temporal, thou art subject to us."* He told him, that the power of bestowing royal benefices depended solely on the pope; and he ended with these words: "Those who think otherwise, we hold to be heretics." This curt letter, instead of the usual apostolic salutation, bore for a superscription: "Deum time et mandata ejus observa." The style of this epistle might indeed suggest doubts with regard to its authenticity; but then again how much confidence is there to be placed in the passionate temper of a pope, who set no limits to his arbitrary will, and was not always mindful of decency? If it was attempted afterwards to deny the official character of such a document, still it does not follow, that such a letter was not actually sent by the pope. There seems to have been no doubt on the subject in the very time of these events.†

To this letter the king returned as laconic an answer; with the address, "Philip, by the grace of God king of the French, to Boniface, who claims to be the Pope; little greeting, or rather none at all."‡ The letter began thus: "Let thy most consummate folly know, that in temporal things we are subject to *no man*."§ What Boniface had affirmed, was here stoutly denied; and then to the card

* Scire te volumus, quod in spiritualibus et temporalibus nobis subes.

† The language employed in vindication of the pope to be found among the transactions of the papal consistory in the year 1302, testifies in favour of the statement in the text. The document, after distinguishing this letter from the longer one hereafter to be mentioned, goes on to observe: *Dicitur quod una alia litera fuit missa Domino regi, nescio unde venerit illa litera, sed scio quod per fratres sacri collegii non fuit missa, et excuso Dominum nostrum, quia credo firmiter, quod illam literam non misit, nec ab eo emanavit.*—*Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, roi de France.* Paris, 1655, p. 75.

‡ Bonifacio se gerenti pro summo pontifice salutem modicam seu nullam.

§ Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse.

which Boniface had added, was thrown down another, quite its match. "Those who think otherwise we hold to be foolish or mad."*

Already were the boldest voices heard remonstrating against papal usurpations. In an opinion written upon this letter of the pope, in which it was designed to prove that the pope had, by making such assertions, fallen into a heresy, the king's advocate, Peter de Bosco, expressed himself as follows:—The popes, before the gift of Constantine, had lived in a condition of the greatest poverty. This gift was, at the beginning, not legally binding; and it might be revoked were it not for the many years that have since elapsed. But the most righteous punishment which a man can suffer is to ruin himself by his own actions; as Christ intimated when he said to Peter—"They who take the sword shall perish by the sword;" and perhaps it would be of advantage to the popes to become as poor as they once were, that they might be as holy. It would be better for them to enter the kingdom of heaven with the poor, than by pride, luxury and rapine, to join company with those, who show by the fruits of their daily living, that they do not belong to the kingdom of heaven. If the pope be a servant of God, as he calls himself a *servant of the servants* of God, he should shun the mortal sins, robbery, luxury, and pride; for Christ came not to destroy the law but to fulfil.†

The same day on which that shorter letter is said to have been despatched, on the 5th of December, 1301, the pope sent a very long letter to the king.‡ In this he set forth in detail all the complaints against him and his government. He exhorts him to reform, threatening him, if he does not, with the worst; a step which he should take only with the greatest reluctance. Next he informs the king, that he intended to cite the most eminent men of the French church to Rome, to appear there by the first of November of the following year, for the purpose of advising with them as to the best method of removing the grievances above referred

* *Secus autem credentes fatuos et dementes putamus.*

† In the above-cited collection, p. 46.

‡ Complete in the above-cited collection of documents, p. 48; and with the omission of the passages expunged by order of Clement V., in Raynaldi, 1301, No. 28.

to, and of improving the administration of the realm. The king might either appear personally at Rome, or he might send agents invested with full powers; but at all events, he himself would not be induced, even should the king omit to do this, to alter his own conduct on that account. "But thou wilt observe"—says he—"what the Lord our God speaks forth in us."

Thus the pope set himself up as judge not only in ecclesiastical affairs, but also over the king's government; for he would have himself regarded, little as it suited with his character and his habits of life, a sort of theocratic umpire over all the affairs of the world: and so he says, following in this the example of other popes, that God had set him above kings and kingdoms, to pull down and build up. He warns the king against allowing himself to be persuaded by any one, that he had no superiors, that he was not subject to the head of the whole hierarchy; for whoever thought so was a fool; and whoever obstinately maintained it, showed that he was an infidel.*

The validity of such a bull, the king could not, of course, acknowledge without denying the sovereignty of his government, and making himself wholly dependant on the hierarchy. The bull was publicly burnt, and that it had been so disposed of, was everywhere announced by public proclamation.

The disputed principles according to which Boniface here acted were also theoretically expounded by him, in a bull, constituting an epoch in church history, which from its commencing words is called "*Unam Sanctam*;" and the papal absolutism therein asserted was thus erected into a necessary article of faith. To be sure, this bull contains nothing more†than the logically consequent development of the principles on which the entire churchly theocratic system had rested since the time of Gregory VII., that Christ had committed to Peter two swords,—symbols of the spiritual and of the secular authority. Both swords were dependent therefore on the church. The one was to be drawn *by* the church, the other *for* the church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the priests' behest. The secular power must needs therefore, be subject to the spiritual; in correspondence to

* In the above-cited collection, p. 48. † Vid. Raynaldi, 1302, No. 13.

that law of divine order in the world, by which the lower is connected with that which is highest through various intermediate gradations; in proof of which the pope appeals to Dionysius the Areopagite. Whenever therefore the earthly power deviates from right, it must be corrected by the spiritual. Whenever an *inferior* spiritual power violates its duty, it can be corrected only by a *superior*, but the supreme authority can be corrected only by God. To supply a ground for this position, the words of Paul must be perverted: "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man." The assertion that there are two powers subsisting independently of each other is declared to be Manichæism.* That all men must obey the pope, is set forth as an article of faith necessary to salvation.†

This bull was considered in France an encroachment on the king's authority; a contrivance to make that authority dependent on the pope. The most emphatic protests were issued against it. The grievances which the church had to suffer from the capricious exercise of papal authority were thereby brought into discussion. In the letter which the nobles of the realm and the bishops sent to the cardinals, complaints were made of the pope's bad government of the church, of the arbitrary methods of procedure in the distribution of benefices, whereby the churches were prostrated. It was said that foreigners, that boys, obtained the high offices of the church; that as such persons lived at a distance from the communities over which they were placed, and could not administer the office in person, the church service fell into neglect; the wishes of those who had founded the churches were disregarded; the prelates were hindered from bestowing the benefices on well-informed clergymen of good standing.‡ The cardinals endeavoured to defend the pope against these complaints. Injustice

* Nisi duo sicut Manichæus fingat principia, quod falsum et hæreticum esse judicamus; and against this Dualism, the beautiful reason that Moses did not say *In principiiis*, but *In principio cælum Deus creavit et terram*.

† Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.

‡ See the letter of the barons in the above-cited collection, p. 61; the letter of the French church assembly to the pope, p. 69.

enough there doubtless may have been on both sides ; and the two parties may have had sufficient ground for mutual crimination. The pope could appeal to the fact, that a bishop also had instated two boys, his nephews. He had never heard, he says, when vindicating himself before the consistory of cardinals, that the king or a prelate had instated, as it behoved them to do, a master in theology ; but he *had* heard of their instating their nephews, or other unqualified persons.

From the reproach also of having encroached upon the royal authority and its independent prerogatives, Rome endeavoured to clear herself. This conclusion could only have been arrived at, by a falsification or false interpretation of the pope's letter. "For forty years," says Boniface, "I have studied the law ; and well know that two powers are ordained of God. Who then ought to believe, or can believe me guilty of such folly?"* And so too affirmed the cardinals. Never had the pope written to the king, that the latter had received from him the secular power, and that therein the king was subject to the pope.† But how is this to be reconciled with the principles expressed in the bull *Unam Sanctam*? To understand this we need only to see clearly into certain distinctions of the papal law. It was very true that the spiritual and secular powers should subsist, each distinct and separate from the other ; and yet, from the *moral* oversight of the pope nothing should be withdrawn ; to his *moral* tribunal everything must be amenable. And thus, what was conceded to the secular power with one hand is taken back by the other. By virtue of his moral tribunal the pope could still make every other power, which he acknowledged to be, in a certain respect, an independent one, dependent on himself. Thus, while he acknowledged this sort of relative independence, he might at the same time declare, that the king could no more than any other believer, deny, that he was still subject to the pope in respect of sins.‡ And accordingly,

* Quis ergo debet credere vel potest, quod tanta fatuitas tanta insipientia sit vel fuerit in capite nostro ?

† In the above-cited collection, p. 63.

‡ Non potest negare rex, seu quicumque alter fidelis, quin sit nobis subjectus ratione peccati.

in that very consistory which was held for the purpose of vindicating the pope, the cardinal-bishop of Porto affirmed, "There is a ruler, a chief at the head of the church, whose commands all must obey." This ruler was lord over all, spiritual things and secular. It was a thing not to be doubted by any man, that in reference to sins, the pope had judicial authority over all things temporal. As God had created two luminaries, one to rule the day, the other the night, so had he conferred on the pope spiritual jurisdiction in the highest sense; on the emperor and princes, jurisdiction in temporal things; which is always to be understood however, in its connection with the distinction above alluded to; the distinction between *right* and *practice*, as it is here called. It is asserted, that as certainly as Christ is to be judge over quick and dead, just so certainly this prerogative must also belong to his vicar, the pope. This was a part of the idea of the community of saints. Although the secular power, therefore, is not the pope's, as to practice, for Christ commanded Peter to return his sword into its sheath, still it should remain dependent on him, as to right.* According to these principles Boniface acted, when he told the king, that if he did not reform, if he refused to let his prelates come to Rome, the pope would depose him, as his predecessors had already deposed three French kings. His arrogant language was, "The king who has done wickedness we will depose as if he was a boy."† What means the pope resorted to for extending his dominion over all, we may gather from a boast of his, that he knew all the secrets of the French kingdom.

It is true, the king had straitly charged the French prelates not to leave the kingdom. The goods of those who obeyed the pope's citation were sequestrated; still Boniface required it of them that they should not be hindered by any fear of man from doing their duty. And on the 13th of April, 1303, he issued a bull, pronouncing the king under ban, because he had hindered the prelates from coming to the council at Rome, and oppressed in various ways those who did attend it, on their return home. When

* See p. 112.

† Nos deponeremus regem sicuti unum garcionem.

it had come to this, the king in the same year convoked an assembly of the estates, for the purpose of consulting with them as to what was to be done to counteract the plots of the pope, and secure against them the safety of the realm. On this occasion charges were brought against the pope in order to furnish ground for a protest against the legality of his government. These charges did not relate to simony alone, and to profane and worldly pursuits, but also to unnatural licentiousness, and to the grossest infidelity. It was said, for example, that Boniface denied the immortality of the soul, and often, before those with whom he was intimate, uttered such language as this: "You fools sillily believe a foolish thing! Who ever came back from the other world, to tell us anything about it? Happy they who know how to enjoy life; and pitiable creatures are those who lose the present life in hopes of gaining a future one, like the dog that stands over a pool of water with a bit of meat in his mouth, and seeing the reflected image of it, lets go the substance to chase after the shadow."* He would often quote, it was said, the words of Solomon, "All is vanity! All will ever continue to be as it has been." If we could credit these accusations, we should have to set down Boniface as the most abominable of hypocrites; one who believing nothing, used spiritual things merely as a means to promote his selfish ends; a man without any religion whatever, who, finding papal absolutism ready prepared for his purpose, wielded it for the gratification of his unhallowed passions; and hence was never restrained by any religious or moral scruples from abusing that power. It would be a remarkable sign of the times, if it were possible to find in his case an infidelity expressed with so much consciousness,—an infidelity using superstition merely as a means and a pretext. As to what is said against the moral character of this pope, we certainly have no reason to question the truth of the testimony on that point; and in a man of so reckless a spirit, in a man so ready to use spiritual weapons to secure his own ends, the transition, it must be allowed, was a very easy one from superstition to absolute infidelity. But the accusations against the pope

* See p. 474.

in relation to the matter of religion, proceeding from his most violent enemies, are not sustained by sufficient evidence. From the contradiction, which was so apparent between the life and conduct of Boniface and his spiritual vocation and religious professions, men might easily be led to conclude that the pope did not himself put faith in anything he said and did with a view to promote his own designs. Still, however, it is a remarkable sign, that such rumours should get into circulation respecting the religious opinions of a *pope*, however incredible many of the things may seem to be of which this pope is accused. With regard to his moral character, the voice of his times is one and the same. Not so with regard to the matter of religion. Even those who speak most unfavourably of Boniface take no part in accusing him on this point. The famous poet Dante, who certainly stood far enough removed from the papal party, also portrays Boniface as an altogether worldly-minded man, one who profaned holy things. Yet he does not place him among the unbelievers, the deniers of immortality, in hell; as he does Frederick II., towards whom he must in other respects have been more favourably inclined, by virtue of his party interest, as a Ghibelline. This surely may be regarded as of some weight in estimating the credibility of those charges against the religious views of Boniface.

These charges having been formally set forth, it was now proposed that appeal should be made to a general council, before which they could be duly investigated. The proposition was adopted. The assembly appealed to a general council, and to a future lawful pope. Many spiritual and secular bodies united in this appeal, with the proviso that the pope should be allowed an opportunity of defending himself against such charges. Thus, for the second time, we are presented with the case of an appeal to a general council for the purpose of passing judgment on a pope.

The pope, of course, pronounced all these transactions disorderly, and unlawful. In opposition to these resolutions and appeals he put forth a bull, on the 15th of August, 1303. In this, he did not enter minutely into any refutation of the charges brought against his religious views, but simply says; "Where before had it ever been

heard, that he was infected with heresies? Of what individual of his whole family, or of his province of Campania, could this be said? Whence then this so sudden change, that he who, but a short time ago, had been regarded by the king as lawful pope, should at once be accused as a heretic? No other reason could be assigned but this, that the pope had considered it his duty to call the king to account for wrongs he had done. A precedent, then, was now to be given, that whenever the successor of Peter should propose to correct a prince or powerful noble, he might be accused as a heretic, or a transgressor; and so reformation would be eluded, and the highest authority completely prostrated. "Far be it from me," he said, "without whom no council can be convoked, to permit any such precedent to be given." The pope pronounces every appeal from him to be null and void. He affirms that none superior or equal to him exists among mortals, to whom an appeal could be made; that, without him, no council could be convoked; and he reserves it to himself to choose the fit time and place for proceeding against the king and his adherents and punishing such guilty excesses, unless they should previously reform, and give due satisfaction,—“so that their blood,” says the pope, “may not be required at our hands.”

The pope, with his cardinals, had retired to his native city Anagni; and already, on the 8th of September, 1303, had drawn up a new bull of excommunication against Philip, discharging all his subjects from their oath of allegiance and forbidding them any longer to obey him, when, before he could deal the blow, he fell himself a victim to the vengeance of his fiercest enemy. William of Nogaret, the French keeper of the seals, having been commissioned by the king to announce those resolutions to the cardinals and the pope, and to see them carried into execution, pushed forward, at the head of a troop of armed men, got together with the assistance of several of the banished Colonnas, and entered at early dawn into Anagni. The cry was raised, “Death to pope Boniface! long live the king of France!” The people took sides with the soldiers. The cardinals fled. The pope, forsaken by all, was surrendered as a victim into the hands of his enemies.

He showed himself to be firm and courageous in misfortune; and we see plainly how much he might have accomplished, had his bold, energetic will been inspired by a single spark of religious or moral feeling. "Since," said he, "I am a prisoner by betrayal, like Christ, it becomes me to die, at least like a pope." On the papal throne, clad with all the papal insignia, he awaited his enemies. Nogaret took possession of the pope's person, and of his whole retinue. He descended to low abuse, and indulged himself in scandalous jokes on his prisoner. Boniface, who thought he had good cause to look out for poison, found himself reduced to the most deplorable condition. But three days had scarcely elapsed before a change took place in the fickle populace. They were seized with pity towards the forsaken Boniface, and indignation against those who had reduced him to this state. The multitude ran together, shouting, "Long live Boniface! death to his betrayers!" Thus the French were driven from the city, and Boniface, set at liberty, was enabled to return to Rome. But he did not escape the fate which he had drawn down on his own head. Mortified ambition and pride, as it would seem, threw him into a mental distemper, which terminated in insanity. He never got up from it, and died in this state on the 12th of October, 1303. On this unhappy end of Boniface, the Florentine historian, Villani,* judging according to the prevailing opinion of his age, makes the following comment: "We ought not to be surprised at the judgments of God in first punishing, after this manner, pope Boniface, a man more worldly than became his station, and one who did much that was displeasing to God,—and then punishing him also who was employed as the instrument of the pope's punishment; not so much on account of his treatment of Boniface personally, as on account of his trespass against the Divine Majesty, of which the pope is the representative on earth."

This issue, in which a defence so conducted of papal absolutism pushed to the farthest extreme, resulted, was important not only in itself, but also on account of the grave consequences to which it immediately led; the

* Lib. 8. 63.

contest between the papal-court system of the Middle Ages and a more liberal tendency which gathered strength and boldness every day. As the first representatives of the latter appear, amidst these controversies, two distinguished writers,—the Augustinian *Ægidius of Rome*, afterwards archbishop of Bourges, and the Parisian theologian *John of Paris*, a Dominican, of whom we have already spoken in the section relating to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in the preceding period. The former composed, in the usual scholastic form, a controversial tract, in opposition to the pope's absolute authority, as asserted by Boniface in the above-mentioned shorter bull,—another evidence of the authenticity of that bull which ought not to be overlooked.*

From the fact, that the pope was the vicar of Christ it had been attempted to prove his universal authority; but in this tract the idea of such a vicarship was used for a directly contrary purpose. We here see the way already preparing for a tendency, which from this time forward appeared under various forms, and preceded the Reformation,—the tendency which aimed to set forth prominently the contrast between the pope as he was, and that which he ought to be as vicar of Christ. Although,—it is said,—Christ might have been Lord over all, yet he did not use this power. In fact, he declined the royal authority whenever it was offered to him, John vi. When the multitude would have made him king, he escaped from their hands, thereby teaching his followers to shun an insatiable covetousness, and restless ambition. Thus he spiritually gave example to his representatives on earth, that they should not covet imperial or royal honours, still less take upon themselves any such dignity. It was also to be reckoned as a part of the same lesson, that he refused to interfere in settling disputes about inheritance, Luke xii. "The Son of God ever disdained acting as a judge over temporal possessions, though ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead." Neither should his representatives, therefore, intermeddle with matters of temporal jurisdiction. Christ permitted neither Peter nor the other apostles to exercise secular dominion; on the contrary, he

* Quæstio disputata in utramque partem pro et contra pontificiam potestatem. In Goldasti Monarchia Sacri Imperii, tom. II.

constantly enjoined on them humility, and instead of secular power, recommended to them great poverty. They were to have neither gold nor silver. Ægidius appeals to the words of Peter in the Acts, "Silver and gold have I none." The apostles were to be spiritually minded; to withdraw themselves from earthly things, as far as human frailty permitted; to be absorbed in things spiritual and eternal; to watch over the welfare of souls. For Christ knew that temporal things ruffle the temper, distract the spirit, and sink it wholly in the world.

As to the question regarding the relation of the two powers to each other, Ægidius distinguishes the different classes of affairs. In matters purely spiritual, such as questions of matrimony, the secular power was undoubtedly subordinate to the spiritual. But with matters purely secular, such as feudal and criminal causes, the case stood otherwise. These things God had committed especially and directly to secular rulers; and with such, neither the popes nor any other prelates of the most ancient church had ever intermeddled.

The defenders of papal absolutism maintained, that the church, being one body, can have but one head; that a body with two heads would be a monster. To this he replied: Properly speaking, the church has assuredly but one head, which is Christ; and from him are derived the two powers, spiritual and temporal; yet, in a certain respect, the pope may be called head of the church, inasmuch as he is the first among the servants of the church—the one on whom the whole spiritual order depends. This conception of the papal power, as referring solely to that which is necessary or profitable to salvation, to ends purely spiritual, is ever kept distinctly in view by this writer.

The sophistical defenders of papal absolutism were disposed to find in the comprehension of all things in one unity under the pope as head over all, a restoration of that original state, in which Adam was the universal head. To this Ægidius answered: that the comparison did not apply: for in man's original condition, there could not have been states; and then, again, all must have been spiritually-minded. There may have been, indeed, a

certain rule of subordination, as there are different grades among the angels; yet no such relation of rulers and subjects as belongs to the idea of a state.

It had been a governing principle ever since the time of Gregory VII., that the pope could absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance; and from this it was inferred that his authority must extend also to temporal things. But Ægidius would concede the principle thus assumed, only under certain limitations. "The pope," says he, "can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance, or rather declare that they are so absolved." By this latter clause, he doubtless meant to have it understood, that the pope cannot here express an arbitrary judgment, but only testify to a fact, or state that it had its real ground in the very nature of law itself. But this could be done only in those cases in which he was warranted also to take steps against a ruler; as in cases of heresy, of schism, or of obstinate rebellion against the Roman church.

The "plenitude of power" ascribed to the pope, a prerogative which the popes so often appealed to, as one which enabled them to carry through all their measures, Ægidius would allow to be valid only under certain limitations. It was valid only in reference to the souls of men; only in reference to the binding and loosing, and only on the presupposition that the pope's decision was not an erroneous one. He could not bestow renewing grace on souls; he could neither save nor condemn them; he could not forgive sins, except so far as he was the instrument of a higher power. Even in spiritual things, no such unconditional fulness of power was to be attributed to him; but only a fulness of power as compared with that of subordinate church authorities. It was an argument, indeed, often used, that as the spiritual is so far exalted above the temporal, therefore he who has supreme power over the spiritual, must *à fortiori* exercise that power over the temporal. Ægidius exposes the sophistry of this argument, by remarking that this mode of reasoning *a minori ad majus* was valid only as applied to matters the same in kind, and not to those differing in kind; else we might argue that he who can beget a man, can much more beget a fly: he who is a curer of souls, can much more cure the body.

Moreover, to the historical facts, which the defenders of an unlimited papacy construed so as to accord with their own interests, this writer assigned their legitimate place; as, for example, to the deposition of Childeric III. by pope Zacharias. "It is nowhere read," says Ægidius, "that the pope deposed him, but only that he advised to that step. It was by the estates of the realm that Childeric was deposed, and Pepin proclaimed in his place; but they could have done the same thing without the pope's advice."

The second of the above-mentioned individuals, John of Paris, in his treatise of Royal and Papal authority,* speaks of two errors, which he represents as running into opposite extremes; the opinion of the Waldenses, that the pope and prelates ought not to exercise secular dominion of any kind; and the opinion of those who considered Christ's kingdom an earthly one. Of these latter, he points to Herod I. as the representative; for when he heard that Messiah the King was born, he could conceive of nothing but an earthly king. "Just so," he says, "in modern times, many in trying to avoid the error of the Waldenses, fall into the opposite extreme of considering the pope to be vicar of Christ, as having dominion over the earthly goods of princes, and of ascribing to him such a jurisdiction." This doctrine, he thinks, would lead to the error of Vigilantius; for it would follow from it, that renunciation of earthly power and earthly rule contradicted the vocation of the pope as vicar of Christ: whence, again, it would follow, that such renunciation was no part of evangelical perfection. This opinion seems to him to savour somewhat of the pride of the Pharisees, who taught that if the people paid tithes and offerings to God, they were under no obligation to pay tribute to Cæsar. He describes it as dangerous, because it removes the right of property which they previously possessed from such as are converted to Christianity, and transfers it to the pope. It would reflect discredit on the Christian faith, which would thus seem to stand in conflict with social order; and it was to be feared that when traffic thus found entrance into the house of God, Christ would lay hold of the scourge to purify the

* *De potestate regia et papali*, in the above-cited collection of Goldast. tom. II.

temple. The truth, however, was represented as lying in the middle between these two errors. It was this, that secular rule and worldly possessions were in nowise inconsistent with the calling of the pope or the prelates; but still they were in no respect necessarily implied in that vocation; but were only permissible, and might be used, when bestowed either by the devotion of Christians or from any other quarter.

In separating the two powers, the author makes use of that distinction between the natural and supernatural destination of man, of which we spoke in giving the history of scholastic theology in the preceding period.* Answering to the one, is the realization of the end which the State proposes, by means of the natural virtues; for this object civil government is instituted. Answering to the other, is the destination to life eternal; and for this the spiritual power has been established. Both powers are derived immediately from the supreme, divine power. And he, like Ægidius, refutes the argument, that because one is a superior, the other an inferior province, the latter must therefore be subject to the former. The priest, in spiritual things, was greater than the prince; but in temporal things, the prince was greater than the priest; though absolutely considered, the priest was the greater of the two. It is maintained that the pope has no power of control even over the goods of the church. These were bestowed by certain individuals, who gave them to the church in behalf of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, for the furtherance of its ends; to this commonwealth alone they belonged. The administration of this trust devolved solely on the prelates, and the pope had the general direction of this administration. Hence he concludes that the pope could in nowise dispose of the goods of the church at will, so that whatever he should ordain about them must be obligatory; but the power conferred on him related simply to the wants or to the advantage of the universal church. As a monastery could deprive its abbot, a particular church its bishop, if it was proved that the former squandered the goods of the monastery, the latter the property of the

* Vgl. Bd. X. s. 953 ff.

church, so too the pope, if found guilty of any such unfaithful administration, and if after being admonished, he did not reform, might be deposed: whereupon he adds, "But, according to the opinion of others, this could *only* be done, perhaps, by a general council." John of Paris cites a doctrine held forth by the advocates of papal absolutism, that even though one rightfully opposed the arbitrary will of the pope in the administration of church property, still the latter might remove him from his office. He says, on the other hand, "They lift their mouths against heaven, and do foul wrong to the pope, who thus make his will a disorderly, arbitrary will, when it is to be presumed that the will of so great a father can never be so in conflict with justice, as that he should, without good and sufficient reasons, take away his own from any one; for God never takes from any one that which he has given him, except for his own fault. As the government of Christ is not a worldly one, so he maintained the vicarship of the pope could not relate to the things of the world. Christ rules in the faithful, only through that which is highest in them, through the spirit which has submitted to the obedience of faith. His kingdom is a spiritual one, having its foundation in the hearts of men, not in their possessions.

We have seen that, by the advocates of papal absolutism, a distinction was made between the secular power in itself, and in its exercise; so that the former was held to proceed immediately from the pope, but the latter to depend wholly upon the sovereigns, to have been conferred by God on them alone. This distinction John of Paris declares to be absurd and inconsistent. It would follow from it, says he, that the princes were also called upon to judge how the pope exercised his power, and that they might deprive him of it; which, however, is denied by these men when they assert that the pope can be judged by no man. And how is the pope to receive from princes what does not belong to him by the ordinance of God? and how is he to give them what he himself receives from them? The princes, according to this doctrine, would be servants of the pope, as the pope is the servant of God, which contradicts what is said in Rom. xiii. about magistrates being ordained of God. Moreover, the power of rulers was, as a matter of

fact, both in itself and in its exercise, prior in time to the power of the pope.

He also stood up in defence of the independent power of the bishops and priests, and denied that this was derived from God only through the mediation of the pope, maintaining, that it springs directly from God, through the choice or concurrence of the communities. For it was not Peter, whose successor is the pope, that sent forth the other apostles, whose successors are the bishops; or who sent forth the seventy disciples, whose successors are the parish priests; but Christ himself did this directly. It was not Peter who detained the apostles in order to impart to them the Holy Ghost; it was not he who gave them power to forgive sins, but Christ. Nor did Paul say, that he received from Peter his apostolical office; but he said that it came to him directly from Christ or from God; that three years had elapsed after he received his commission to preach the gospel, before he had an interview with Peter.

He maintains again, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction has reference solely to things spiritual. The most extreme penalty which the pope could threaten was excommunication; all else was but a consequence accidentally connected with that penalty. Thus he could only operate indirectly, so that the person on whom he pronounced sentence of excommunication for some offence coming under his jurisdiction, might be deposed, in case he threatened to put under ban all who should obey him as sovereign, and thus brought about his removal by means of the people. But similar to this, was the relation of rulers also to the pope, considered with reference to the particular provinces of their power. If the pope gave scandal to the church, and showed himself incorrigible, it was in the power of secular rulers to bring about his abdication or his deposition by means of their influence on him or on his cardinals. And if the pope would not yield, the emperor might so manage as to compel him to yield. He might command the people, under severe penalties, to refuse obedience to him as pope. Thus both pope and emperor could proceed one against the other; for both had a general jurisdiction, the emperor in temporal, the pope in spiritual things. At the same time

he expressly declares, that all he had said respecting this power of the pope over princes could relate only to such things as came under spiritual jurisdiction ; such as matters relating to the marriage covenant, and matters of faith. But when a king violated his obligations as a ruler, it was not in the pope's power to correct this evil directly. All that he could do was to apply to the estates of the realm ; but if these could not or dared not correct their sovereign, they were authorized to invoke the assistance of the church. So on the other hand, if the pope transgressed in temporal things, the investigation of which belonged to the civil jurisdiction, the emperor had a right first to correct him by admonition, and then to punish him, by virtue of his authority as a minister of God to execute wrath on evil-doers. Rom. xiii. But if the pope did wrong in spiritual things, if he committed simony, encroached on the rights of the church, taught false doctrines, he ought first to be set right by the cardinals, standing, as they did, at the head of the clerus. But if he proved incorrigible, and they had not the power to rid the church of the scandal, they were bound to invoke the assistance of the secular arm, and the emperor might employ against the pope the powers which God had put into his hands. He refers, for an example, to the deposition of pope John XII. by the emperor Otho I. When the defenders of papal absolutism took the passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and perverted it to their purpose, "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man," he replied : "The passage has no such application, for the apostle is only speaking of persons spiritually minded ; but the possessor of the spiritual power is not always such a person." Furthermore, he asserts that the unity of the church, as one spiritual body, is not founded on Peter or on Linus, but on Christ, who *alone* is in the proper and highest sense the head of the church ; from whom are derived the two powers, in a certain series of gradations ; yet the pope might, in reference to the outward service of the church, be called head of the church ; inasmuch as he is the first among her servants, the one on whom, as the first vicar of Christ in spiritual things, the whole regular series of church ministers depends. He

disputes the binding force of the pretended gift of Constantine to pope Silvester. He declares this gift a preposterous one; and cites a legend, frequently alluded to by the opponents of the papacy, that at the time of this gift the voice of an angel was heard saying, To-day a vial of poison has been poured upon the church.

John of Paris finally enters into a particular investigation of the question whether the pope can be deposed, or can abdicate. What conclusions he must have arrived at on this point, may be gathered from the preceding remarks. He distinctly affirmed, that as the papacy existed only for the benefit of the church, the pope ought to lay down his office whenever it obstructed this end, the highest end of Christian love.

Such were the most noticeable of the immediate consequences resulting from the high pretensions set up for the papal power by Boniface VIII. We see expressed here for the first time, in opposition to the arbitrary will of the pope, principles, by the operation of which, in the midst of the events with which this century closed, a new shaping could not fail to be given to the laws and constitutions of the church.

The successor of Boniface, a very different man from himself, was *Benedict XI.*, a Dominican, who, up to this time, had lived strictly according to the rule of his order. As a pope, too, he showed a becoming zeal for the welfare of the church, and sought to correct the evils occasioned by the arbitrary will of his predecessor. He did everything he could honourably do to restore a good understanding with the French government. But it was only for the short period of eight months that he was permitted to rule. He died in 1304; and a report prevailed that he was poisoned by the cardinals;* a noticeable sign of the times, when reports like these—a similar one prevailed about the death of Celestin V.—were so repeatedly noised abroad. A great fermentation would necessarily ensue at the election of a new pope. It was known that the exasperated king of France still cherished sentiments of revenge against Boniface VIII., and was determined to have him

* See Villani, lib. 8, cap. 80.

convicted and condemned, as a heretic, even after his death. The party of Boniface had to strain every nerve to vindicate his honour. Thus the election of a pope was retarded by the contest between an Italian party, devoted to the interests of Boniface, and a French party. Nine months had this schism lasted, when the cunning and sagacious cardinal da Prato (du Prat), who led the French party, proposed a plan by which they might come together and unite in a choice. The other party, the Italians, should nominate three candidates from their own number, and out of these one should be chosen by the French within forty days. The Italian party doubtless thought themselves secure of the victory; for they selected three men, who had been elevated to the rank of cardinals by Boniface VIII., to whom they were thoroughly devoted, and at the same time, fiercely inimical to the king of France. But the cardinal du Prat outwitted them. He knew his men. He knew how to find among the selected three, one who was ready to pay any price that might be asked for the gratification of his ambition. This was Bertrand d'Agoust, bishop of Bordeaux, who was reckoned among the most zealous adherents of Boniface, and the most violent enemies of king Philip. With the latter he had had a personal quarrel. The cardinal du Prat reported to the king of France, as speedily as possible, all that had transpired, and explained to him how it now stood in his own power to create the pope. He might offer the papal dignity to the archbishop of Bordeaux on whatever terms he thought proper. The king sought an interview with the much-surprised bishop. He showed him what he could do. He offered him the papal dignity on condition of his compliance with six conditions. Among them were the following: That he should reconcile the king and his friends to the church; pardon everything that had taken place; give up to him for five years the tenths in his whole kingdom to defray the expenses of war; restore to the Colonnas their cardinal dignities; moreover, that he should promote several of the king's friends to the same rank, and institute an investigation into the heresies of Boniface. There was still a sixth condition which, for the present, was to be kept a profound secret. Perilous as several of these

conditions must have been to the papal and Christian conscience of the pope, yet he was ready to sell his soul for the papal dignity, and he accepted them all. This was done in the year 1305. He called himself pope Clement V. To the great vexation of the Italian cardinals he did not come to Rome, but remained at home in France, and had the ceremony of his coronation performed in Lyons. The way in which he administered the papal government, corresponded entirely to the way in which he had obtained it. What the Italians had predicted, when the pope, in despite of every invitation, refused to leave France, actually took place. Rome did not very soon again become the seat of the papacy. From the year 1309 and onward this seat was transferred to Avignon; and here begins a new important epoch in the history of the papacy, *the seventy years' residence of the popes in Avignon*. Let us in the first place take a general view of the consequences of these exceedingly influential events.

As the independence of the seat of the papal government in the ancient capital of the world had largely contributed towards promoting the triumph of the papacy; so the dependence, into which the popes fell when removed at a distance from the ancient seat of their spiritual sovereignty, led to consequences of an opposite kind. With Clement V. began this disgraceful servility of popes dependent on the interests of France; a situation for which Clement had prepared the way by the manner in which he obtained the papal dignity. The popes at Avignon were often little better than tools of the French kings, who used their spiritual power to promote the ends of French policy. They served those kings in matters which stood in most direct contradiction to their spiritual vocation. They could not fail to make themselves odious and contemptible by the manner in which they acted in these relations. The papal court at Avignon became the seat of a still greater corruption than had disgraced the papal court in Rome. The popes at Avignon took the liberty to elevate to the highest spiritual dignities, to the rank of cardinals, persons the least fitted by age, by character, or by education for such stations,—the most worthless of men, either their own nephews, or persons recommended to them by the French court; and

these Avignonese cardinals were in the habit of abandoning themselves to every species of luxury and debauchery. The extortions which, to the ruin of the church, were practised by the Roman court, rose to a continually higher pitch and extended over a greater compass, from the time of Clement V., who already provoked thereby many complaints in France. The example of a wasteful expenditure of church property, of simony and cupidity, here given by the popes, found ready imitation in other churches, and the corruption of the church in all parts grew more atrocious every day. The popes at Avignon would abate nothing from the old system of the papal hierarchy, but rather pushed its pretensions to still greater lengths. But the want which they betrayed of spiritual dignity, the bad use they made of their power, the merely secular interest by which they were so manifestly governed, stood in direct contradiction with the tone in which they spoke. The quarrels in which they involved themselves by their exercise of the papal power, brought it about, that all the wickedness which reigned in the papal court at Avignon, and which spread from that spot into the rest of the church, became matter of common conversation. These quarrels served to call forth many more of those voices of freedom, such as had first been heard during the contests with Boniface VIII.; and still bolder opinions were expressed. A powerful reaction gradually forced a way for itself against the papal monarchy. Add to this, that the freer churchly spirit, which from the earliest times we perceive in the Gallic church, and which was never in want for means of expressing itself, obtained at this particular crisis a mighty organ in the university of Paris. At this university, which in the period before us formed so important a corporation, there was gradually developing itself an independent and liberal theological tendency. By the men of this university, the conduct of the popes and their relations at Avignon, were keenly watched. The popes found severe judges in them. While the French cardinals could not tear themselves away from their pleasures at Avignon, and from the territory of France, nothing was more hateful to the Italian cardinals than what appeared to their eyes, a most lamentable exile of the Roman court. Nothing appeared to them a greater scandal,

than that dependence on French interests. This opposition between the two parties prepared the way for a schism, which was soon to break out, and which drew after it the most important consequences.

Clement had soon to experience some of the deplorable effects resulting from the relation, in which he had voluntarily placed himself to King Philip. After the death of the emperor Albert I., in the year 1308, King Philip conceived the plan of elevating his brother, Prince Charles de Valois, to the imperial throne; and the pope was to serve as the instrument for carrying it into execution. This, it was said, was the condition that had been kept so profound a secret. The king intended to take the pope by surprise, to come upon him suddenly, with a numerous train of armed followers. But the plan was divulged to the pope. As the Italian historian in this period, Villani, expresses himself:—"It pleased God, so to order it, that the Roman church should not thus be wholly subjected to the court of France;"* for, had this project been carried out, the servitude of the pope would have been doubled. Now, as the pope had not courage enough to take an open stand against the king, he resorted, by the advice of the crafty du Prat, to trick and deception, for the purpose of defeating the king's object. While he ostensibly granted the king's request, he secretly invited the German princes to hasten the emperor's election, and gave his vote for Count Henry of Luxemburg. The latter, Henry VII., was elected emperor; and Philip saw his favourite plan defeated. He now pressed the more urgently to have the process begun against Boniface. The weak pope was obliged to permit that, in the year 1310, the matter should be brought before the papal consistory. By the enemies of Boniface the most atrocious things were charged against him. This, under the existing circumstances, could not fail to give great scandal to many. From several quarters, particularly from Arragon and Spain, complaints were uttered against so scandalous a spectacle; and the pope was called upon to put a stop to it. Under the pretext that a general council was to be convoked at Vienne, and that there these affairs could be transacted

* *Come piacque a Dio, per non volere che la Chiesa di Roma fosse al tutto sottoposta alla casa di Francia.* Villani, i. lib. 8, c. 101, fol. 437.

with far greater publicity and solemnity, he induced King Philip, finally, to consent that the affair should be put off to the above-mentioned council. At this council in Vienne, which met in the year 1311, the memory of Boniface was at length solemnly vindicated. But the pope, moreover, put forth a declaration, placing the king in security against all the consequences which might flow from his acts against Boniface, and, from the bulls put forth by Boniface, all those clauses were expunged or altered, which were hostile to French interests.

At the council of Vienne was terminated also another affair in which Clement had, in the most shameful manner, submitted to be used as a tool of the French king. The order of the *Knights Templar* had, by the power and wealth of their establishments, excited the jealousy of many. Various rumours were afloat respecting this order,—rumours which are the less to be trusted, because we find in times the most widely remote from each other similar reports concerning societies veiled from the popular eye, and which in some way or other have incurred the popular odium—whispers of unnatural abominations, supposed to be practised in their secret conclaves. Persons of that order guilty of criminal offences, had, while in prison, preferred charges against it, with a view to procure their own release. King Philip the Fair would, no doubt, be glad to believe anything which would put it in his power to lay hold of the property of the order. In the year 1307, he caused all the Knights Templar in France to be arrested. The trials were conducted in the most arbitrary manner. At first, the pope complained that the king should bring before a civil tribunal a suit against a spiritual order, accusations relating to heresy and infidelity. He entered a protest against the procedure of the king; but had not courage to follow up the step he had taken. At length, in the year 1308, he joined the king in carrying on a common process. There has been much dispute respecting this affair. But even though individuals of the order may have been guilty of various excesses, may by reason of their residence in the East, have fallen into infidelity, yet no sufficient reason appears to have existed for condemning the order at large. Expressions, for the most part extorted by the rack, and

which were often taken back in the extremity of death, ought not, surely, to pass for good evidence. Indeed, when justice is so arbitrarily administered, what evidence of guilt can be deemed satisfactory? Now, when many of the Knights Templar had already fallen victims to mere tyrannical will, Clement, at a council in the year 1311, declared the order abolished. Clement died in 1314, leaving behind him a bad reputation, not merely among the Italians, who could not pardon in him the transportation of the papal court to Avignon, but also among the French. The judgment passed upon him we may doubtless regard as an unanimous one.* The Italian historian, Villani, says of him, that he was very greedy of money, given to simony, and to luxury. Respecting his morals, unfavourable rumours were afloat. All benefices were said to be disposed of for money.†

When, owing to the division among the cardinals, the papal chair had remained vacant during a period of two years, the French party once more triumphed, and John XXII., another Frenchman, succeeded in mounting the papal throne. Like his predecessor, this pope was bent on indemnifying himself for his dependence on France, by maintaining the papal absolutism in relation to Germany. On the occasion of a contest for the election of an emperor—between the Archduke Frederic of Austria on the one side, and Duke Louis of Bavaria on the other—the pope was desirous of securing the decision to himself. He wanted that everything should depend on *his* vote. He would not pardon it in Duke Louis (Louis IV.) that he should be so confident of his power, as to act as emperor, without waiting for the pope's determination: that he should form an alliance with the pope's enemies, the Ghibellines in Italy. Negotiations were of no avail. The matter proceeded onward till it came to a war of ever-increasing animosity between the pope and the emperor. The former pronounced the emperor under ban, in denunciations growing continually more violent, and laid all those portions of Germany where he was recognised as emperor

* Compare the two accounts of his life which Baluz has published in the Vit. Pap. Avign. tom. I. and what Villani says.

† Villani, lib. 9, c. 58.

under the interdict. The emperor appealed from the pope to a general council, before which he might be allowed to prove the justice of his cause to holy church and the apostolical see. Fierce struggles in Germany followed as the consequence ; and amid these contests many freer voices caused themselves to be heard. By some, the interdict was observed ; by others, not. In many districts, ecclesiastics, who were for observing the interdict, were banished.* The emperor, in the year 1327, followed the invitation of his friends in Italy and Rome, the Ghibellines, who invited him into that country. This expedition of the emperor was attended with consequences of great moment to the general progress of religion. Pope John had provoked dissatisfaction in many, and these took the side of the emperor. Under his protection, free-minded men could express themselves in a way which elsewhere would not have been suffered to go unpunished. Various matters of dispute were here brought together, and placed in connection with the contest which was now waging between the papacy and the empire, the church and the secular power, the spiritual and the secular interest. We have, in the preceding period, spoken of the controversies between the more rigid and the laxer party of the Franciscans. We saw how the more rigid Franciscans, in their contests with the popes, had been led into a course of reaction against the secularization of the church. Pope John XXII., who, with his obstinate temper, was bent on deciding all uncertain matters, had stirred up these controversies anew, by taking part against the more rigid Franciscans. He refused to recognise a distinction set forth by some, that while Christ and the apostles *made use* of earthly goods, they did not in any proper sense *own* anything—the distinction between a bare *usufruct*, and an earthly posses-

* See the Chronicle of the Franciscan John of Winterthur : Et interim clerus gravitur fuit angariatus et compulsus ad divina resumenda, et plures annuerunt, non verentes latam sententiam, nec ultionem divinam. Multi etiam erant inobedientes, et ob hoc de locis suis expulsi, et sic tandem facta fuit lamentabilis difformitas ecclesiarum. And of the churches that mutually accused each other of heresy on account of their different modes of procedure : Illæ mutuo se sinistre judicabant, mutuo sibi non communicabant, sed frequenter se excludebant, unaquæque suo sensu secundum verbum apostoli quasi dicam abundabat. Thesaur. Hist. Helvet. Tiguri, 1735, p. 29.

sion in the strict and proper sense. The more rigid Franciscans rebelled against his decisions, and even had the boldness to accuse him of heresy. There were among them at that time men of courage and sagacity, such as Michael of Chesena, general of the order, who was deposed by the pope; William Occam of England, distinguished among the philosophers and theologians of his time. All these embraced the party of the emperor. Occam said to him: "Defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with the pen." The inquiries respecting evangelical perfection, respecting the following after Christ, the different modes of the possession of property, were easily connected with the inquiries respecting the relation of spiritual things to secular in general. Especially worthy of notice is a work which was called forth by these disputes, the title of which indicates its contents—*Defensor Pacis*. Its object was to show that, inasmuch as church and state had their natural limits severally assigned to them, the peace between the two should thereby be definitively settled. Its author was the emperor's physician and theologian, Marsilius of Padua, earlier rector of the University of Paris. It is true, John of Janduno, in Champagne, a Franciscan, is also mentioned as co-author of this book; and doubtless he may have had some share in its composition; but at all events, the work itself indicates plainly enough that it is the product of one mind, and of an individual who speaks of what he had seen and heard himself. It is, in truth, a work that made an epoch. Not merely the excesses of the later papacy are attacked in it, but the very foundations of the hitherto existing fabric of the church are assailed.

A new position is here taken—an entirely new method and way of looking at Christian truth. The whole Old Testament theocratical element is discarded. This important appearance, the foretoken of a new, protestant spirit, such as we could hardly expect to meet with in the times we are speaking of, deserves, therefore, to be somewhat more minutely considered by us.

The rock on which the church reposes he holds to be Christ alone, its author and founder.* The words of Christ,

* Qui caput est et petra, super quam fundata est ecclesia catholica.

"Upon this rock I will build my church," he refers to Christ himself. In reply to those who supposed that the church, destitute of a visible head, would be in want of something essential to its organization, just as if it were a body without a head, he says: "Christ ever continues to be the head of the church; all apostles and ministers of the church are but his members;" and he appeals in proof to Ephesians iv. And accordingly Christ himself plainly said that he would be with her to the end of the world.* The highest source of knowledge of the doctrines of faith was, in his view, the holy Scriptures.† "By the apostles," says he, "as organs immediately actuated and guided by divine power, the precepts and counsels guiding to eternal salvation have been committed to writing, that in the absence of Christ and the apostles we might know what they are."‡ The author takes his point of departure from a more sharply-defined distinction of the ideas of church and state. The idea of the state he takes from an ante-Christian point of view, inasmuch as he adopts the Politics of Aristotle, the standard authority, at that time, for the determination of such ideas. The state is a society of men having reference to the *earthly* life and its interests;§ the church, a society having reference to the *eternal* life; where we find expressed the relation of the natural to the supernatural, answering to a distinction already noticed between the *dona naturalia* and *super-addita*. The state became necessary in order to counteract sin. Had man continued loyal to the divine

He refers for proof to the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and 1 Cor. x. See p. 246, cap. 17, in Goldasti *Monarchia Roman.* Imp. Francofurt. 1668, tom. II.

* Et cum inducebatur, ecclesiam acephalam esse, neque fuisse ordinatam a Christo secundum optimam dispositionem, si eam absque capite in sui absentia reliquisset, possumus dicere, quod Christus semper caput remansit ecclesiæ, omnesque apostoli et ecclesiastici ministri membra. L. l. p. 301.

† A sacro canone tanquam a fonte veritatis quæsitæ facientes exordium cæt. L. l. p. 252.

‡ Per ipsorum dictamina conscripta sunt velut per organa quædam ad hoc mota et directa immediate divina virtute, per quam siquidem legem, præcepta et consilia salutis æternæ in ipsius Christi atque apostolorum absentia, comprehendere valeremus. L. l. p. 168.

§ Vivere et bene vivere mundanum, ac quæ propter ipsum necessaria sunt. L. l. p. 158.

will, no such institution would have been required.* He finds the difference between the Old and the New Testament dispensation to consist in this, that under the former, civil laws as well as religious were made known and sanctioned by divine authority. But Christ had kept all these matters in abeyance. He had left them to be settled by human laws, which all the faithful should obey. He refers for proof to the words of Christ, "Give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and to Romans xiii.† To the assertion that the gospel would be an imperfect dispensation if civil relations could not also be ordered and settled by means of it, he replies, the two provinces ought clearly to be distinguished. The evangelical law is sufficient for its specific end, which is to order the actions of men in *this present life* so as to secure the life *eternal*. It was not given for the end of determining law in reference to the relations of this earthly life. It was for no such end that Christ came into the world. Hence the necessity of distinguishing different rules of human conduct by their relation to different ends. One is a divine rule, which gives no instruction whatever about conducting suits in civil law, and actions for recovery; nor yet does it forbid this. And for this reason the gospel gives no particular precepts with regard to such matters. This belongs to the province of human law. He refers for illustration to the conduct of Christ in declining to act as an arbitrator in the dispute concerning an inheritance.‡ If any were disposed to call the evangelical

* In reference to man's primitive state : in quo siquidem permansisset, nec sibi aut suæ posteritati necessaria fuisset officiorum civilium institutio vel distinctio. P. 161.

† Mōi legem Deus tradidit observandorum in statu vitæ præsentis, ad contentiones hominum dirimendas, præcepta talium specialiter continentem, et in hoc proportionaliter se habentem humanæ legi quantum ad aliquam sui partem. Verum hujusmodi præcepta in evangelica lege non tradidit Christus, sed tradita vel tradenda supposuit in humanis legibus quas observari et principantibus secundum eas omnem animam humanam obedire præcepit, in his saltem, quæ non adversarentur legi salutis. P. 215.

‡ Quod per legem evangelicam sufficienter dirigimur in agendis aut declinandis in vita præsentī, pro statu tamen venturi sæculi seu æternæ salutis consequendæ, aut supplicii declinandi propter quæ lata est, non quidem pro contentiosis actibus hominum civiliter reducendis æqualitatem aut commensurationem debitam pro statu seu sufficientia vitæ

law an imperfect one because no rules were to be drawn from it for the regulation of these matters, they might, with equal propriety, call it imperfect, because the principles of the healing art, the doctrines of mathematics, or the rules of navigation were not to be derived from it.*

We have already remarked that Marsilius looked upon the holy Scriptures as constituting alone the ultimate source of all our knowledge of the Christian faith; to them alone, as contradistinguished from all human writings, he ascribes infallibility.† Yet it was his opinion that the holy Scriptures would have been given in vain, nay would have proved an injury to mankind, if the doctrines necessary to salvation could not be derived from them with certainty. Hence it followed that Christ would clearly reveal these doctrines to the majority of the faithful, when they searched after the true sense of the holy Scriptures and invoked his assistance; so that the doctrine drawn from the holy Scriptures by the majority of believers in all times, ought to be the rule for all. And hence he concluded that the highest respect was due to the decisions of general councils.‡ For proof of this he appealed to Christ's promise, that he would be with his church to the end of the world, and to the fact that the first apostolic assembly, Acts xv., ascribed their decisions to the illumination of the Holy Ghost. But he dissented from the well-known maxim of St. Augustine,

præsentis, eo quod Christus in mundum non venit ad hujusmodi regulandos pro vita præsentis, sed futura tantummodo. Et propterea diversa est temporalium et humanorum actuum regula, diversimode dirigens ad hos fines. P. 216.

* Si ex hoc diceretur imperfecta, æque convenienter imperfecta dici posset, quoniam per ipsam medicare corporales ægitudines, aut mensurare magnitudines, vel oceanum navigare nescimus. L. c.

† Quod nullam scripturam irrevocabiliter veram credere vel fateri tenemur de necessitate salutis æternæ, nisi eas, quæ canonicæ appellantur. F. 254, c. 19.

‡ Quoniam frustra dedisset Christus legem salutis æternæ, si ejus verum intellectum, est quem credere fidelibus est necessarium ad salutem, non aperiret eisdem hunc quærentibus, et pro ipso invocantibus simul, sed circa ipsum fidelium pluralitatem errare sineret. Quinimo talis lex non solum ad salutem foret inutilis, sed in hominum æternam perniciem tradita videretur. Et ideo pie tenendum, determinationes conciliorum generalium in sensibus scripturæ dubiis a spiritu sancto suæ veritatis originem sumere. Cap. 19, fol. 254.

Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas; since by this expression the authority of the sacred Scriptures seemed to be ultimately based on human authority. But his interpretation of these words evidences the freer Christian striving of his mind, although the position reached by the theological culture of that period did not permit him as yet to arrive at clearer and more comprehensive views on this subject. These words were represented as simply having reference either to the fact, that it is by the testimony of the church we come to know that these Scriptures are apostolical, or also, and at the same time, to the fact, that we adopt the doctrines therein contained as the doctrines of salvation first of all upon the testimony of the collective body of believers. The former view, however, he thought to be the one which accorded best with St. Paul's teachings in the epistle to the Galatians; for the words of Christ were not true on the ground that the church gave witness to them, but the testimony of the church was true, because it harmonized with the words of Christ; for the apostle Paul says, not even an angel from heaven could preach any other gospel; so that although the entire church should preach another gospel, it could not be a true one.*

He objected to the arbitrary extension of the predicate *spiritual* to everything that appertained to, or proceeded from the clergy. Whatever served for the maintenance of the clergy was not on that account, according to holy Scripture, to be called spiritual, since it related simply to the earthly life; but it should be called secular. In truth many things were done by the clergy, which could not, with any propriety, be called spiritual.† As might easily be inferred from the exposition we have just given of his ideas of the church and the state, he ascribed to the church a purely spiritual authority only; and denied that she possessed any authority whatever of a secular character,

* Non enim dicta Christa vera sunt causaliter, eo quod eisdem testificetur ecclesia catholica, sed testimonium ecclesiæ causaliter verum est propter veritatem dictorum Christi. F. 255.

† Non omnes eorum actus spirituales sunt, nec dici debent, quinimo ipsorum sunt multi civiles actus contentiosi et carnales seu temporales. Fol. 192.

or which had reference to things secular. He disclaimed for her the possession of any species of coercive authority. According to the doctrine of the New Testament, (2 Tim. ii.) bishops should rather hold themselves aloof from all secular affairs. All believers without distinction should own subjection to the civil magistrate, and obey him in all things not standing in conflict with eternal salvation. With what sort of conscience, then, could a priest, of whatever rank or station, presume to absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance binding them to the government that is over them? To do this he pronounces a heresy.*

The principles of ecclesiastical law that had prevailed down to this time respecting the method to be pursued with heretics, should, according to the ideas set forth in this work, be altered throughout. To the church should belong no sort of coercive or primitive power. This should belong exclusively to the state, and be applied exclusively to things commanded or forbidden by the laws of the state; as, in fact, immoralities could not be punished by the state, as such, but only so far as they were a violation of the laws of the state. Many things contrary to the laws of God must needs be tolerated by the state.† Civil and divine punishments belong to entirely different provinces. It might happen, that one who ought to be punished according to the laws of the state, would not be found punishable before the divine tribunal.‡ What is a heresy, and what is *not* a heresy, are questions for the priest to decide. He may correct the person found guilty, warn him, and threaten him with

* Fol. 203.

† Non propterea, quod in legem divinam tantummodo peccat quis, a principante punitur. Sunt enim multa peccata mortalia et in legem divinam ut fornicationis, quæ permittit etiam scienter legislator humanus, nec coactiva potentia prohibet, nec prohibere potest aut debet episcopus vel sacerdos. L. c. f. 248.

‡ Peccans in legem humanam peccato aliquo, puniatur in alio sæculo non in quantum peccans in legem humanam : multa enim sunt humana lege prohibita, quæ sunt divina lege permissa, ut si non restituerit quis mutuum statuto tempore propter impotentiam, casu fortuito, oblivione, ægritudine vel alio quodam impedimento, non puniatur ex hoc in alio sæculo per judicem coactivum secundum legem divinam, qui tamen per judicem coactivum secundum legem humanam juste puniatur. Ibid.

eternal punishment: but no other penalties come within his power; just as in all other departments of knowledge,—in the art of healing, in trade, he who understands may decide as to what is right and wrong in his science, but not with the sanction of a penalty. Heresy, however, may be punished by the state; yet only so far as it is in violation of the laws of the state; the state having the power to ordain that no heretic, no unbeliever shall dwell within its domain. But, if this be permitted to a heretic by the laws of the state, as it has been permitted even among Christian nations, no one has a right to punish him.* Just as a man may transgress the rules of some science or trade, and yet will not be punished, on that account, except so far as he transgresses the laws of the state. A man may drink, make shoes, practise the art of healing, as he pleases, or as he can; but he is never punished for this, unless by so doing he transgresses the laws of the state.†

Having drawn this strict line of demarcation between the provinces of the state and of the church, the author pronounces that ecclesiastics committing actions punishable according to the civil laws become subject to the coercive power of the state. Inasmuch—says he—as those who are designated by the common name of clergy, may sometimes, by omission or commission, be guilty of sin, and some—would to God they did not sometimes constitute the

* Quodsi humana lege prohibitum fuerit, hæreticum aut aliter infidelem in regione manere, qui talis in ipsa repertus fuerit, tanquam legis humanæ transgressor poena vel supplicio huic transgressioni eadem lege statutis in hoc sæculo debet arceri. Si vero hæreticum aut aliter infidelem commorari fidelibus eadem provincia non fuerit prohibitum humana lege, quemadmodum hæreticis ac semini Judæorum jam humanis legibus permissum exstitit, etiam temporibus Christianorum populorum, principium atque pontificum, dico cuipiam non licere hæreticum aut aliter infidelem quemquam judicare vel arcere poena vel supplicio reali aut personali pro statu vitæ præsentis. Fol. 217.

† Causa ejus generalis est, quoniam nemo quantumcunque peccans contra disciplinas speculativas aut operativas quascumque punitur vel arcetur in hoc sæculo præcise in quantum hujusmodi, sed in quantum peccat contra præceptum humanæ legis. Sed enim inebriari aut calceos facere vel vendere cujuscunque modi, prout possit aut velit quilibet medicari et docere ac similia reliqua officiorum opera exercere pro libito si prohibitum non esset humano lege, nequaquam arceretur ebriosus aut aliter perverse agens in operibus reliquis. Ibid.

majority*—are actually so guilty to the injury and wrong of others; it follows, that they also fall under the jurisdiction of those judges who have coercive authority, power to punish the transgressors of human laws: and he cites, in proof, Romans xiii.† In contending against the exemption of the clergy from civil jurisdiction, he says, “Nothing spiritual belongs to the crimes of ecclesiastics; they are fleshly actions, and the more fleshly, in the same proportion as it is more difficult and shameful for a priest to sin, since by sinning he gives occasion for sin, and makes it easy to those whom he is bound to restrain from it.”‡

So, again, he distinguishes between what God does by himself and that which he does through the instrumentality of the priest. Adopting the view held by Peter Lombard, he asserts, that it is God alone who bestows forgiveness of sins where its conditions are present in true penitence, and God alone who can purify the soul from the stains of sin. He distinguishes from this the declaration of the priest, which has reference to a man's relation to the outward church. To the priest also it belongs to change a greater punishment which is really due into some minor one voluntarily undertaken.§ Accordingly he declares strongly against the power arrogated by the pope of absolving men from their obligation to observe the laws of God, with allusion to the pope's conduct towards the emperor Louis. He accuses the pope of heresy in his proceedings towards that emperor.|| The pope, says he, excites his own subjects to rebel against that catholic prince by certain devilish writings and discourses, which he calls, however, apostolical, pronouncing them absolved from the oath of allegiance, by which, in good truth, they were and still are bound to that prince. Such absolutions he proclaims through certain ministers of his wickedness, who are hoping

* Et agant ipsorum aliqui, utinam non plurimi quandoque de facto.

† Fol. 211.

‡ Eo etiam carnaliores atque temporaliores judicandæ magis, quanto secundum ipsa presbyter aut episcopus gravius et turpius peccat, his, quos a talibus revocare debet, delinquendi præbens occasionem et facilitatem sui exemplo perverso. Fol. 242.

§ Fol. 206, seq.

|| Fol. 283 : Novum genus exercet nequitia, quod manifeste videtur hæreticam sapere labem.

to be promoted by that bishop to ecclesiastical offices and benefices. It is plain that this is not an apostolical, but a devilish transaction; for it thus comes about, that this bishop and his companions in wickedness, blinded by avarice, pride, and ambition, and full of all malice, as any one may perceive, so lead all that follow them, as that they fall into mortal sin.* They are betrayed by this most holy father and his servants, hurried into treason, robbery, murder, and every species of crime; and unless they die in penitence, and find mercy with God on account of their gross ignorance, must be plunged into everlasting destruction. For to every creature endowed with reason it must be certain, that neither the Roman bishop nor any other priest has power to absolve any man whatever from such, or from any other lawful oath, without reasonable cause. He pronounces it an abominable transaction, that the pope, through certain false brethren who were agape for church dignities, should direct the preaching of a crusade against the subjects of the emperor, as a thing well pleasing to God.† He pronounces the forgiveness of sins promised by the pope‡ (indulgences) a delusive thing; for, according to the Catholic faith, it could be doubtful to no one, that to those who took part in such a war, this ridiculous and groundless absolution, could be of no use, but must rather prove an injury.§ Yet, for the gratification of his ungodly

* Fol. 284 : Secundum hoc et ex hoc episcopus iste cum omnibus sibi complicitibus ordinatoribus, consensoribus et executoribus sermone, scriptura vel opere cœci existentes cupiditate, avaritia, superbia cum ambitione summaque, ut omnibus constat, iniquitate repleti, ducatum præbent sibi credentibus et assequentibus ad casum et præcipationem in foveam mortalium peccatorum.

† Et quod horret auditus, id prædicat, et per quosdam et falsos fratres sitientes ecclesiasticas dignitates tanquam Deo sit acceptum, quemadmodum in transmarinis partibus expugnare paganos, prædicari facit ubique. Fol. 285.

‡ Promised even to those who were unable from bodily weakness to take part themselves in the expedition, but yet aided it by their pecuniary contributions; as the words stand : Non potentibus propter corporis debilitatem id scelus explere, si ad proprios ipsorum sumtus id per alios usque in idem tempus procuraverint perpetrari, aut summam illam ad hoc sufficientem exhibuerint nefariis exactoribus suis. Ibid.

§ Hanc derisibilem et inanem absolutionem nihil proficere, sed nocere. Fol. 286.

desires, he so deceives the simple,—granting them in words, what lies beyond his power, thus betraying souls to everlasting perdition.

The author of this work perceived already the baseless, unsubstantial character of the whole hierarchical system; and with a boldness and freedom from all bias, truly worthy of admiration, showed his ability to distinguish the original truth from later impositions. He discovered, already, that originally there was but one priestly office, and no distinction of the office of bishops from that of presbyters.* “How is it,” says he, “that some unscrupulous flatterers dare affirm that every bishop has received from Christ a plenitude of power even over his own clergy, to say nothing of the laity; while neither Peter nor any other apostle ever presumed, by word or deed, to arrogate to themselves any such authority? They who affirm this should be laughed at. They should not be believed; still less should they be feared; for the Holy Scriptures, in their literal and manifest sense, tell us quite the contrary.”† So, too, he utterly denies the precedence of rank ascribed to Peter over the rest of the apostles; and he understands very well how to prove, from the New Testament, the groundlessness of this assumption.‡ But even supposing that a certain authority may have been conceded to Peter by the other apostles, yet it would by no means follow from it, he remarks, that this authority was transmitted to the Roman church; for there is no reason why the same thing might not be said, just as well, of the church at Jerusalem or at Antioch, or of any other church. It was true of the

* We have an illustration of his free spirit of inquiry in his method of proving this from Acts xx. Fol. 239: *Ecce quod in ecclesia unius municipii plures allocutus est apostolus tanquam episcopus, quod non fuit nisi propter sacerdotum pluralitatem, qui omnes episcopi dicebantur, propter hoc, quod superintendentes esse debebant populo.*

† Fol. 243: *Cur ergo et unde assumunt adulatōres sacrilegi quidam dicere, quemquam episcopum habere a Christo plenitudinem potestatis, etiam in clericos, nedum in laicos, cum beatus Petrus aut alter apostolus nunquam talem sibi potestatem adscribere præsumerit opere vel sermone? Hoc enim asserentes deridendi sunt, nihil credendi minusque timendi, cum scripturæ oppositum clament in literali et manifesto sensu ipsarum.*

‡ Fol. 241, et seq.

apostles, generally, that to no one of them was a distinct and separate church assigned; but they were commissioned to preach the Gospel to all people.* It could not be proved from the law of God, nor by any Scripture which it is necessary to salvation to believe, that it was ever determined by Christ, or by an apostle, or by the collective body of the apostles, that a bishop of some one particular province should be called particularly the successor of Peter or of any other apostle, or that he should be accounted more than the others, however unequal the apostles may have been among themselves; but *he* rather was, in a certain sense, successor of Peter and of the rest of the apostles, who came nearest to them in copying their lives and their holy manners:† according to the saying of Christ, that they were his mother, his brothers, and his sisters, who did the will of his Father in heaven, Matthew xii. The bishop of Rome ought rather to be called successor of the apostle Paul, who for two years preached the Gospel at Rome, than the successor of Peter. It could not even be shown from the New Testament that Peter had ever been at Rome.‡ The free, inquiring spirit, and the sharp discernment of this man, are evidenced in the skill with which he shows up the idle character of those tales, so long time believed, about the labours of Peter in Rome, and his there meeting with Paul. It must certainly be regarded, he says, as very singular and surprising that Luke, the author of the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul, should nowhere make mention of Peter. How can this fact be reconciled with the statement, that Peter had laboured in Rome before Paul, when it appears from the last chapter of the Acts, that to the Jews in Rome the Christians were a wholly unknown sect? How can this supposition be reconciled with the fact that, when Paul reproached the Jews for their unbelief, he did not appeal to

* Quia nullus apostolorum lege divina determinatus fuit omnino ad populum aliquem vel locum. Fol. 244.

† Sed ille vel illi magis sunt aliquo modo beati Petri et reliquorum apostolorum successores, qui vitæ et ipsorum sanctis moribus amplius conformantur. Fol. 245.

‡ Dico per scripturam sacram convinci non posse, ipsum fuisse Romanum episcopum, et quod amulius est, ipsum unquam Romæ fuisse. Fol. 245.

the earlier preaching of Peter; that Paul, during his two years' residence in Rome, should never come in contact with Peter; or that the history of the apostles should have taken no notice of the fact? * He asserts the original equality of all bishops, and their independence of each other, and traces the origin of a certain primacy of the Roman church to the times of the emperor Constantine. † Though he did not look upon the primacy of the Roman church as anything originally inherent in that church, yet he supposes that such a primacy sprang gradually, of its own accord, out of existing relations. The high consideration in which the great capital of the world universally stood, and the eminently flourishing condition of the sciences at that centre of learning, were the occasions that led men to seek counsel and advice especially from that church, and to look to that quarter for their clergy. As an example, he compares the relation of the University of Orleans to that of Paris. He himself had been witness how the University of Paris had been consulted for advice by the former. ‡ He held to a certain priority of one church, which, however, was not connected with any right of jurisdiction over the others; and to this priority, not indeed as anything necessary, or founded on divine right, but yet as a thing salutary and conducive to the preservation of church

* *Admirandissimum dico, quod b. Lucas, qui actus apostolorum scripsit, et Paulus apostolus de beato Petro nullam prorsus mentionem fecerunt. Then, after a quotation from Acts xxviii. 19—23: Dicat ergo mihi veritatis inquisitor, non quærens contendere solum, si probabile sit alicui, beatum Petrum Romam prævenisse Paulum et nihil nuntiasset de Christi fide, quam Judæi loquentes ad Paulum sectam vocabant? Amplius Paulus in reprehendendo ipsos de incredulitate, si novisset Cepham ibidem fuisse et prædicasse, quomodo non dixisset aut ipsum hujus testem induxisset negotii, qui resurrectionis Christi testis extiterat. Quis opinabitur, quod biennio existens ibidem Paulus nunquam conversationem, collationem aut contubernium habuerit cum b. Petro? Et si habuisset, quod de ipso nullam penitus mentionem fecisset, qui actuum scripsit historiam?*

† *Qui quandam præminentiam et potestatem tribuit episcopis et ecclesiæ Romanorum super cæteras mundi ecclesias seu presbyteros omnes. Fol. 243.*

‡ *Sic et qui librum hunc in lucem deduxit, studiosorum universitatem Aurelianis degentem vidit, audivit et scivit per suos nuntios et epistolas requirentem et supplicantem Pariensi universitati tanquam famosiori et veneratori cæt. Fol. 252.*

unity.* Did any one ask, to what bishop should such a place of eminence be conceded? It ought, in good truth, to be said, to the one who excelled all the others in life and doctrine; and the chief stress here was to be laid on the life. Did any one ask, to what ecclesiastical diocese should such a distinction be conceded? that one should be designated, in which were to be found a clerical body most distinguished for life and doctrine. Yet, provided only the other requisites were present, it was very proper that such consideration might still continue to be conceded, according to ancient custom, to the Church of Rome. But Marsilius takes strong ground against the authority ascribed to the pope and the cardinals to decide anything about matters of faith. "How in case," says he, "that a heretic should be elevated to the papal dignity; or that one after having attained to that dignity, should from ignorance or from wickedness fall into some heresy; ought the heretical decisions of such a pope to pass for valid?" He adduces, for example, the decision contrary to the gospel given by Pope John XXII. on the matter of evangelical poverty; a decision which he put forth to the end that he might not appear to have fallen from Christian perfection, and that he might assert his secular dominion.† He appeals, again, to the bull *Unam Sanctam* issued by pope Boniface VIII. which he calls a thing false to the very core.‡

The supreme authority to determine in all disputed matters pertaining to faith he ascribes to a general council, assembled with the consent and participation of all the faithful; and to such a council he thinks the guidance of the Holy Spirit may have been promised.§ He considered it desirable, especially in the then existing condition of the clergy, that laymen should also be allowed

* *Quamvis non sit lege divina præceptum, quoniam et sine hoc fidei unitas, licet non sic facilius salvaretur, expedire dico ad hanc unitatem facilius et decentius observandam.* Fol. 265.

† *Ne summam Christi paupertatem et perfectionis statum deserere videretur, cum hoc volens temporalia etiam immobilia in suo venditandi retinere dominio et seculariter principari.* Fol. 257.

‡ *Nunc autem eam ab initio nunc et semper constat esse falsam, erroneam cunctisque civiliter viventibus præjudicialissimam omnium excogitabilium falsorum.* Ibid.

§ Fol. 253.

a seat in the councils. "In the present corrupt state of the church," says he, "the great majority of the priests and bishops are but little, and if we may speak freely, quite insufficiently experienced in the sacred Scriptures; because they hanker after the benefices, to which ambitious, covetous aspirants, skilled in canonical law, attain, by services rendered, by petition, by money, or the aid of the secular power.* I call God and the multitude of believers to witness," says he, "that I have seen and heard of very many priests and abbots, and some prelates, incapable even of preaching a sermon according to the rules of grammar." He mentions it as a fact, that he had known a young man not twenty years old, absolutely ignorant of the doctrines of religion, to whom the office of a bishop, in a respectable and populous city, had been granted, though he had not as yet passed through the inferior grades of clerical consecration. And this thing, the pope, who, as vicar of Christ, pretended to possess the "plenitude of power" in the distribution of benefices, had often done, with a view to secure the favour of the powerful. Now for what purpose should a parcel of such bishops and priests assemble together? How should such persons be able to distinguish between the true and the false sense of the Scriptures? Owing, then, to the deficiencies of such persons, it was necessary to call in the assistance of discreet laymen, sufficiently versed in the sacred Scriptures, men distinguished also by their lives and manners above such bishops and priests.† He describes in general the great mischief that grew out of the arbitrary power conceded to the popes in making appointments to ecclesiastical offices. Supposing the Roman bishop to be a proud man, sunk also in other vices, a man disposed to exercise secular powers such as several had been known to be in modern times; a person of this character, to gratify his insatiable avarice, or his other passions, to gain the favour of the

* Nunc vero propter ecclesiastici regiminis corruptionem plurima pars sacerdotum et episcoporum in sacra scriptura periti sunt parum, et si dicere liceat insufficienter, eo quod temporalia beneficiorum, quæ assequuntur officiosis ambitiosi, cupidi et cauidici quidam, obtinere volunt et obsequio, prece vel pretio vel sæculari potentia. Fol. 258.

† Fol. 258.

powerful, would put up ecclesiastical offices for sale; and to please the same class, would confer such offices on their relatives and friends. And that this not only might be done, but had actually long been done and was still done, was a fact testified by an experience not hidden from any of the faithful.* He speaks as an eye-witness himself of the corruption of the Roman court. "They," says he, "who have trod the threshold of the Roman court, or, to speak more strictly according to truth, that house of traffic, that abominable den of robbers, will have seen, and they who have not themselves visited it, will have heard from the reports of numerous credible eye-witnesses, that it is the resort of all the vicious crew who push a trade with spiritual as they would with secular things.† For what else do you find there, but a confluence from all quarters of those who exercise the trade of simony? What else than the bustling of attorneys, the intrigues of caballers, and persecutions of righteous men? There the just cause of the innocent runs an awful hazard of being defeated; or if they cannot redeem it with money, of being so long retarded, that, exhausted, wearied out by countless vexations, they are finally compelled to abandon their just and pitiable cause; for these *human* laws are loud and noisy, while *divine* doctrines are silent, or let themselves be heard but seldom. There it is deliberated how the countries of Christian men may be forcibly wrested from the hands of those to whom the guardianship of them has been lawfully committed. There no pains are taken, no counsels held to win souls to Christ; there no order, but only everlasting confusion dwells. I who have been there and have seen it,‡ fancied to myself that I beheld the frightful image which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream (Daniel ii.); for what else is this great image than the condition of the Roman court, which once was fearful

* Fol. 262.

† Cernent se ipsis limpide, qui Romanæ curiæ, imo verius cum veritate dicam, domus negotiationis, et ea quæ latronum horribilioris speculncæ limina visitarunt, aut qui ab hac abstinuerunt, numerosæ fide dignorum multitudinis relatione discent, eam pæne sceleratorum omnium et negotiatorum tam spiritualium quam temporalium receptaculum esse factam. Fol. 274.

‡ Qui vidi et affui. Fol. 274.

to the perverse and wicked, but is now, to all who study it, near at hand, awful to contemplate? * The upper part of the image, to which the eyes and the affections of the mind are attracted, gold and silver; the belly and hips, the bustle of worldly strife and the trade of simony; not to mention the thunder of the ban against the faithful of Christ, who, in secular things, refuse to submit to the pope and his church, and refuse, though rightly, to commit temporal things to him. What are the thighs of brass but the sumptuous apparatus for all pleasures and all vanities, which even to laymen seem indecent, but which those persons parade forth to the senses of men who ought to present to all others an example of purity and honour? † He complains that the popes supposed people of the lowest order, altogether without experience, wealth, or secular dominion, capable, if they attained suddenly and at once to so great wealth and power, of holding rule over princes and nations. ‡ He points at the popes as the destroyers of the church. "The modern popes," says he, "do not defend the Catholic faith and the multitude of believers, who are in the true sense the bride of Christ, but prostrate them to the ground: they do not preserve her beauty, which consists in unity, but they disgrace it, by sowing tares and contentions: they sever her members, and separate them one from another; and allowing no place to the poverty and humility that truly belong to the following after Christ, but rather banishing it from their presence, they prove themselves to be not servants, but enemies of the bridegroom." §

* Quid nempe aliud ingens hæc statua, quam status personarum curiæ Romanæ seu summi pontificis, qui olim perversis hominum terribilis, nunc vero cunctis studiosis horribilis est aspectu. Fol. 274.

† Voluptatum, luxus et vanitatum quasi omnium, etiam laicis indecentium, apparatus pomposus, quem sensibus hominum imprimunt, qui cæteris esse debent castitatis et honestatis exemplum. Ib.

‡ Eorum plurimi ex humili plebe trahentes natalia, dum ad statum pontificalem sumuntur, præsidatum sæculi nescientes, quemadmodum neque divitias, indiscreti nuper ditati, fidelibus omnibus importabiles fiunt. Fol. 279.

§ Sic igitur propter temporalia contendendo non vere defenditur sponsa Christi. Eam etenim, quæ vere Christi sponsa est, catholicam fidem et fidelium multitudinem, non defendunt moderni Romanorum pontifices, sed offendunt, illiusque pulchritudinem, unitatem videlicet,

The author of this remarkable book must assuredly have atoned with his life for such freedom of thought, if the contest between the pope and the emperor had not secured his safety in spite of the sentence of condemnation passed upon him by the former. It is true, the principles expressed in his book met as yet with no response; but it was still an important sign of the times, that such principles were expressed.

As the pope did not comply with the invitation from Rome to return back to that place, the Ghibelline party triumphed there, and the emperor was received with acclamation. In connection with the party opposed to the pope, the rigid Franciscans in particular, he repeated the old trick which had been tried against the popes by earlier emperors, but which never was found to produce the slightest moral effect. He caused a solemn assembly to be held in the year 1328, on the place in front of St. Peter's church. Here John XXII. was accused of being a heretic. The erroneous doctrines charged against him were the assertion that Christ with his disciples held property in common, when, in truth, he ever loved poverty; that the pope was for arrogating to himself secular rule, contrary to Christ's words, "Give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and "My kingdom is not of this world." Sentence of deposition was pronounced against him. A contemporary* who entertained a sufficiently bad opinion of this pope, describes the impression produced by this step, and probably according to the truth, when he says, "The wise men in Rome were much disturbed at this

non servant, sed foedant, dum zizanias et schismata seminando, ipsius membra lacerant et ab invicem separant, Christi quoque veras comites, paupertatem et humilitatem, dum non admittunt, sed excludunt penitus, se sponsi ministros non ostendunt, sed potius inimicos. Fol. 281.

* The Florentine Giovanni Villani, in his History of Florence. This writer, l. 11, c. 20, speaks of his extortions and his avarice, says that he used a great deal of money, partly to carry on his war with the emperor in Lombardy, partly to maintain his nephew, or rather son, in state and splendour,—*mantanere grande il suo nipote, overo figliuolo*,—who was legate at Lombardy. The good man did not call to mind that Christ in the gospel says to his disciples, Your treasure is in heaven, and, Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth. *Ma non si ricordava il buono huomo del vangelo di Christo, dicendo a suoi discipoli, etc.*

sentence, and the rest of the simple people did not greatly exult over it."* Next, to win the favour of the Romans, a law was enacted,† that every pope should reside in Rome, and not leave the city, except during three months in the year; and not remain out of it more than two days, and for that time only with the permission of the Roman people. If, on absenting himself from Rome, he did not, when invited by the Roman people to return, comply, he should, after the invitation had been thrice repeated, be deposed. After this preparatory step, the emperor‡ caused a second great assembly to be held on Ascension Day, the 12th of May, 1328, in the place before St. Peter's church. Louis appeared in all his imperial insignia, surrounded by nobles, and a vast multitude of men and women filled the space around him. Then Pietro Corvaro, a Franciscan, who by his strict life had won the reverence of the people, was borne in procession under a baldochin. The emperor rose from his seat. A bishop stepped forward and delivered a scurrilous discourse, applying the words in Acts xii. 8, to the emperor Louis, comparing Louis with the angel, and pope John with Herod. Next, a bishop selected for the purpose, thrice put the question to the assembled people whether they would have Peter of Corvaro for pope. Prompted by fear, they said yes; though they would have preferred a Roman. Corvaro was now regarded as lawful pope, and called himself, as such, Nicholas V. This certainly was a hasty and ill-judged transaction, by which the emperor could only injure his own cause.§ He was in no condition to follow up the step he had taken. He was obliged to flee from Italy; and Nicholas was finally compelled to beg absolution of pope John at Avignon, and to submit to his authority. Louis

* Della detta sentenza i savi huomini di Roma molto si turbarono, e l'altro semplice popolo ne fece grande festa. L. 10, c. 68.

† L. c. c. 70.

‡ L. c. c. 71.

§ Villani describes the bad impression which was made thereby on the minds of the Romans. La buona gente di Roma molto si turba, parendo loro, che facesse contro a fede e santa Chiesa, e sapemo noi di vero dalla sua gente medesima, che quelli, ch'erano savi, parve loro ch'egli non facesse bene, e molti per la detta cagione mai non li furono fedeli come prima. Ibid.

saw that his power was on the wane. The papal ban had made an impression on the secular and spiritual estates; and his own unfavourable relations induced the emperor, who longed for quiet, to seek reconciliation with the pope; but the latter repelled all his advances, and required unconditional submission. Already was Louis prepared to purchase quiet at any price for himself and for Germany; but the estates of the empire were unwilling to expose the empire to such humiliation, and took sides with the emperor against the pope. The latter had by his arbitrary proceedings in appointments to church offices, aroused the displeasure of many. The archbishop of Trier, indignant at a process lost at the Roman court in Avignon, had appealed to a general council. In addition to this pope John had stirred up a theological controversy, by which he lost much of his authority, and exposed himself to severe humiliation. He had expressed an opinion, contrary to the common persuasion, and hardly to be reconciled with the prevailing mode of regarding the condition of the saints, namely, that the pious were not to attain to the intuition of God, until after the final judgment. Two preachers of the Franciscan order were said to have embraced this doctrine at the university of Paris. It became the occasion of disputes and violent commotions in that university. The king interfered. He convoked, on the fourth Sunday of Advent, 1333, an assembly of prelates and theologians at the castle of Vincennes, and laid before this council two questions; whether the holy souls in heaven would be enabled to behold God's essence before the resurrection and before the general judgment; and whether the same intuition of the divine essence, which they now enjoyed, would be renewed at the day of judgment, or a different one would follow.* The king himself explained, for the purpose of quieting all apprehension, that he was far from wishing to detract in any way whatever from the honour of the pope. To save the honour and respect due to the pope in this investigation it was remarked, that the supreme pontiff had thrown out all that he had said on this matter, not as his own opinion, but as

* *Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris*, tom. iv. f. 237.

something problematical.* As the result of these deliberations, it was established that the souls which, on departing this life, were in such a condition as not to need purgation, and those which had already passed through the fires of purgatory, were raised to the immediate intuition of the divine essence: this was one and the same thing with the eternal life itself, and at the resurrection, therefore, nothing different would follow. What the theological faculty here pronounced orally, they were afterwards required by the king to state in writing. He transmitted this letter to the pope, admonishing him to recant, and threatening him, as it is reported, in case of refusal, with the faggot.† John thus became still more dependent on the king; to whom henceforth, as Villani relates, he no longer dared refuse anything. Shortly before his death, in the year 1334, he put forth a bull, in which he declared that purified departed souls found themselves in heaven or in paradise. In all he had said or written to the contrary, he had only intended to present the matter as a fair subject for disputation. All that he had said and written should be considered valid only so far as it harmonized with the catholic faith, the church, and the holy Scriptures. He submitted everything to the better judgment of the church and of his successors. We thus observe from the reign of Boniface VIII. and onwards to this point of time, a series of new and freer investigations called forth by the despotism of the popes. After Marsilius of Padua, deserves to be especially noticed here William Occam, who by the invitation of the emperor wrote upon the points in dispute.‡ In perfect agreement

* The Parisians say, in excuse of themselves: *Quod multorum fide dignorum relatione audivimus, quod quidquid in hac materia sanctitas sua dixit, non asserendo seu opinando protulerit, sed solummodo recitando.*

† According to the statement of D'Ailly, at the Council of Paris, in the year 1406. Du Boulay, l. c. s. 238.

‡ As he says himself, in the *Octo Questiones*, near to the end, Goldasti Mon. tom. ii. fol. 391: *Illum autem dominum mihi quam plurimum venerandum, qui hoc opus componere suis precibus me induxit, rogo et obsecro, ut mihi indulgeat, si præscriptas quæstiones ad intentionem suam sim minime prosecutus, quare eas discutiendas voluit et mihi tradidit et porrexit.*

with his whole sceptical method, he is cautious indeed about expressing any decided opinion, and takes a safe position for himself by simply stating the arguments first on the one side and then on the other.* But at the same time, he leaves us at no loss to understand for which opinion he is both able and willing to adduce the strongest arguments.

Against the opinion that the pope possesses the "plenitude of power" *tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus*, it is established that in such case the gospel in its relation to the law of Moses would not be a law of liberty, but the law of an intolerable servitude; a servitude still more grievous than under the earlier dispensation. For, according to this view, all would be servants of the pope, so that he might, at pleasure, appoint kings and dispose of their realms; so that he might even impose rites and ceremonies upon the church like those in the Old Testament; a position which to many appeared heretical. When the Jews accused Christ of calling himself king, Pilate declared that he found no fault in him, since he well understood that Christ did not mean to call himself a king in temporal things, but in quite another sense, not seeming to him to stand in any contradiction with the authority of Cæsar. It was only his fear of the threat of the Jews, to accuse him before Cæsar, that induced him, against his better convictions, to consent to pass sentence upon Christ. Hence many wonder, how it should be that a man of the world, like the heathen Pilate, should gather this from Christ's words, whilst many Christians who would be regarded even as teachers of the law, do not understand it. There seems

* As he says himself, in the beginning, f. 314 : Quia sequens opusculum, ut desidero, ad manus forte perveniet æmulorum, qui odio stimulante etiam quæ ipsis vera videntur (si dicerem) damnare, vel ad periculosum sensum trahere molirentur, tali modo in eo conabor procedere, ut ex modo loquendi non quis dicit, sed quid dicitur coacti attendere, mei ob odium, nisi ipsos malitia vexaverit, inauditam nequam nequiter lanient veritatem : personam enim biviam recitabo et sæpius opiniones contrarias pertractabo, non solum eas, quibus adversor, sed etiam quibus mente adhæreo, hoc tamen nullatenus exprimendo, interdum scienter pro eis tentative sive sophistice allegando in persona confirmatum aliorum, ut pro utraque parte allegationibus intellectis veritatis sincerus amator puræ orationis verum a falso habeat discernendi occasionem.

to be no other reason for it, but that they are blinded by wrong inclinations.

With regard to the power to bind and to loose bestowed on Peter, the opinion of certain persons is cited, who held that this relates only to sins; and even in this relation, only to the power of bestowing the sacrament of penance; not that he was to have power to expunge guilt, or impart grace, for this lies within the power of God alone; but only to declare men discharged in the view of the church, and to impose on them some act of satisfaction in this world; not to exercise any coercive jurisdiction. It is clearly seen and affirmed, that although, under the Old Testament economy, the priestly power was placed above the royal, yet this was not the case, under the New Testament; because, under this, a spiritual authority only is bestowed on the clergy.* We perceive already, in this distinguishing of the difference between Old and New Testament points of view, the preparatory step to a position which would involve the overthrow of the churchly theocratical system of the middle ages. Could we, it is said, be justified in applying all the Old Testament relations to the New Testament evolution, we should in that case be led to the heretical doctrine of the permanent validity of the Mosaic law.† All that the pope holds in possession beyond what is necessary for his temporal support, all that belongs to the worldly pomp and magnificence with which he is at present environed,‡ he either obtained from the liberality of emperors, kings, and other believers, or has tyrannically arrogated to himself in a way contrary to God's will, to reason, and to good manners. In relation,

* Fol. 327: *Esto, quod in veteri lege pontificalis auctoritas prælata fuisset etiam in temporalibus dignitati regali, non tamen esset præferenda in nova lege: quia auctoritas pontificalis in nova lege spiritualior est et magis a terrenis negotiis elongata, quam fuerit auctoritas pontificalis in veteri lege, quemadmodum lex nova magis est spiritualis, quam lex vetus.*

† Respondetur, quod ista allegatio hæreticalis est, quia sequitur ex ipsa, quod circumcisionem, discretionem ciborum et alia cærimonialia et judicialia veteris legis deberet etiam imitari. *Ibid.*

‡ Omnia, quæ ultra illa, quæ sibi necessaria sunt, possidet, sc. civitates, castra, amplas possessiones et superabundantes, et jurisdictionem temporalem quamcunque, sicut et omnem gloriam mundanam, qua papa nunc rutilat.

therefore, to that which he lawfully possessed, he was not successor of Peter, but of Constantine and other emperors, of kings and other believers, who bestowed these things on the pope; but in no such way as conferred on him an unlimited right of property in all this; for he was obligated, on peril of his salvation, to administer all that had been bestowed over and above what was necessary for his own support, according to the will and purpose of the donors. And if he administered it otherwise, he was guilty of a breach of trust, and was bound to make restitution.* The sentences passed by the pope on the emperor Louis were represented as null and void, because the pope was to be regarded as a heretic; and here it is remarked, "When the power or will of the pope becomes matter of debate, Christians in these days take no trouble to ascertain for themselves what Christ taught, or what the apostles or the fathers have thought on this subject, though it be ever so plain and manifest. But whatever may happen to please the pope, that they adopt, prompted by fear, or favour, or fleshly desires; and try to wrest those passages of Scripture which assert the contrary into some agreement with the fables which they have dreamed.† They transfer to the pope the honour which is due to God alone; and, in contradiction with the apostle Paul, make Christian faith to consist in the wisdom, or rather in the will of the pope, not in that which holy Scripture teacheth."‡ Then it was shown that the excuses commonly offered with a view to exculpate the pope from the charge of heresy were of no force. The pope was said to have held forth dogmas, declared to be heretical, only historically or in the way of disputation. On the contrary, it was maintained, that, were the matter rightly inquired into, it might be clearly

* Fol. 385.

† Ubi de potestate vel etiam de voluntate papæ fit sermo, non curant Christiani scire his diebus, quid Christus docuit, nec quod apostoli senserunt et sancti patres, quamvis ratione manifesta hoc doceretur; sed quod placet papæ, timore vel amore aut cupiditate carnis amplectuntur, et ad fabulas, quas somniaverunt, scripturas et prophetias student trahere repugnantes, et sic ad Papam transferre videntur honorificentiam creatoris. Fol. 390.

‡ Fidem Christianam contra apostolum in sapientia vel potius voluntate papæ, non voluntate scripturæ ponentes. Ibid.

established, that he had beyond all doubt set these things forth as positive assertions. Neither could he be exculpated on the ground that he had at the end of his life recanted whatever he had wrongly asserted; for this recantation was a conditional one, such as any heretic, however obstinate, might offer. And even supposing this might suffice to excuse him, then he should still be regarded as having been a heretic in the time preceding this recantation.* The maxim of Augustine, "*Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas,*" is in his Dialogue,† thus explained: By the *ecclesia* we are here to understand the collective multitude of all the faithful from the times of the prophets and apostles down to the present; to which collective body belongs also the founder of the gospel dispensation; and the part is greater than the whole.‡ In the second book the proofs are arrayed in defence of the position that no doctrine incapable of being proved from holy Scripture was to be acknowledged as catholic and necessary to salvation; neither the church nor the pope could make new articles of faith.

The pope who came after John XXII., Benedict XII., is said to have been a quite different man from his predecessor. He was decidedly opposed to nepotism. His relatives could get nothing from him. He took great pains to fill the vacant sees with pious and able men; he preferred rather to let vacancies remain for a long time unoccupied than to fill them with worthless incumbents. He was a rigid censor of the degenerate clergy and monks: he sought, in particular, to reform the monastic orders. But there are also other reports about him, differing widely from all this. He is described as a harsh, covetous man, given to immoderate drinking, the author of the saying, *Bibamus papaliter*. Yet it may be questioned whether the severity of this pope as a reformer, so detrimental to the interests of many, may not have been the occasion of reports

* Fol. 390.

† Between Scholar and Teacher.

‡ Non quia de evangelio sit aliquo modo dubitandum, sed quia totum majus est sua parte. Ecclesia ergo, quæ majoris auctoritatis est, quam evangelista, est illa ecclesia, cujus auctor evangelii pars esse agnoscitur. Lib. 1, c. 4, Goldast. l. 1, fol. 402.

so injurious to his reputation.* The emperor Louis offered his hand again to this pope, for peace; and the latter would gladly have accepted it; but he found it impossible to break loose from his dependence on the French interest.

Benedict again was succeeded, in the year 1343, by a man of quite opposite character; a Frenchman, of an altogether worldly temper, devoid of all interest in religion, having a bad reputation as to his morals, more devoted to worldly politics than to the affairs of religion, and in his politics wholly dependent on the French court. This was Clement VI.† To the Romans he gave an indemnification for what they had lost by the long absence of the popes, by reducing to fifty years the centennial jubilee which had proved a source of so much profit to them under Boniface VIII. This was done by the famous constitution *Unigenitus*, which he published in the year 1349.‡ The pope assigned as a reason for it the sacredness of the number fifty according to the Old Testament, a number according to which also followed the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of indulgence was here expounded conformably to the determinations already given to it, that Christ had gained for his church a treasure, and had committed it to

* Thus John of Winterthur puts both together, fol. 39, describing him as a reformer of monachism and *potator vini permaximus*. The same thing appears in the 8 vita in Baluz, *Pap. Avign. t. I. Paris, 1693, f. 240*, where we plainly see that it was just the severity of the pope as a reformer which provoked and occasioned the accusation laid against him. The censures are such as might possibly have been called forth by qualities which really deserved praise. *Hic papa avarus, durus et tenax, in conferendis gratiis remissus, tardus et negligens in providendo statum ecclesiarum supra modum fuit, et in excusatione duriæ suæ paucos ad hæc dignos et sufficientes dicebat. Omnes dominos cardinales fore deceptores sui credebat. Ordines mendicantium supra modum exosos habebat.—Huic maxime insitum eordi fuit, clericos et religiosorum ordinum professores et status reformare et, ut dicatur verius, infirmare.* The same writer also cites the byword which proceeded from him.

† In the Chronicle of Albert of Strasburg, it is said of him: *Hic ab antecessoris sui moribus multum distans, mulierum, honorum et potentie cupidus, curiam de simonia diffamans, ipse Francus Franco ferventer adhæsit.* Uretis. German. Historic. post Henric. IV. pars alt. Francof. 1585, fol. 133.

‡ Printed in Raynaldi Annales, at the year 1349, § 11.

her keeping, and more particularly to the successors of the apostle Peter, to whom he had intrusted the guidance of the church. To this had been added the merits of Mary and of all the elect. There was no fear that such a treasure could ever be diminished; because the merits of Christ were infinite, and because the greater the number who should be incited by the appropriation of this treasure to strive after righteousness, the more would be added to it. The emperor Louis renewed his negotiations with this pope, and he was ready to do anything that might be required of him to purchase peace. But the pope, who cared nothing for the distracted condition of the German people, who looked at nothing but his own worldly interests, to which everything else was sacrificed, contrived purposely to have the matter put off without coming to any agreement; for the imperial dignity was to be transferred to another person, related to the royal family of France, and educated to principles of dependence on the papacy. This was Prince Charles of Bohemia, afterwards the emperor Charles IV. In Germany, the pope's measures called forth violent reactions in favour of freedom, movements of the city communities devoted to the emperor, who were unwilling to have an emperor imposed upon them by the arbitrary will of the pope—against those ecclesiastics and monks, who strictly observed the papal interdict. Thus, for example, the clergy of Constance were twice banished, because they refused to hold divine service.* Many monks in different districts of Germany were for the same reason driven away, and the people shouted after them as they left, that it would be a long time before they came back again. When, four years afterwards, they showed an inclination to obey the emperor, and to recommence the public worship of God, they still were not permitted to return.

The distractions which grew out of these divisions, added to the devastations occasioned by that desolating scourge, the black plague, had a great influence upon the religious tone of feeling. The more seriously disposed were recalled from the conflict of the passions and the schisms of the world without, were led to enter into the depths of their

* John of Winterthur, at the year 1343, f. 60.

own being, to collect their thoughts to God and before Him—the inward self-collection of mysticism among a class of monks and laymen who united to form pious communities, calling themselves Friends of God, in South Germany, the countries on the Rhine, France, Swabia, and Alsace. John of Winterthur laments that the emperor and pope should sacrifice the general weal to their private passions and personal interests;* that they should have God and the welfare of the church and state so little before their eyes, and seek only their own. He ascribes all this to the secularization of the church; and taking up the ancient legend already alluded to, he says: On the bestowment of that gift of the emperor Constantine to the Roman bishop Silvester, rightly was the voice heard from heaven, saying, To-day a cup of poison is poured upon the church. In the events of the time he beholds the most striking evidence of the truth of these words. The confounding together of things spiritual and secular, the love of earthly things reigning supreme in the church, appear to him the true source of all the then existing schisms and wars.† What the apostle Paul said of the perils of the last times, seems to him to be already passing into fulfilment.

The emperor ordered fasts and penitential processions, in which he zealously took part himself, to implore the Almighty, that, by the outpouring of his Holy Spirit, he would bring peace to the church. But the pope, having once made up his mind that another man should be emperor, prescribed to Louis conditions so severe, that the princes would not consent to an humiliation of the emperor, so derogatory to the honour of the empire. The quarrels about the observance of the interdict still went on in Germany, as well as the schism that grew out of it. Many

* Fol. 69.

† After the citation of those words: *Quod hodierna die luce clarius cernimus tam oculis mentis quam carnis, imo experimur malis quotidianis graviter et importabiliter, jacturam et dispendia bonorum, corporum, animarum et rerum propter hoc sustinendo. Proprie venenum ecclesiæ infusum a voce memorata dicitur, quia illa liberalis datio Constantini fomes et occasio, quamquam bono zelo fecerit, schismatis prælibati, contentionum, præliorum, homicidiorum, scandalorum innumerabilium a capitibus sacerdotum promotorum, pro regnis et terrenis bonis seu possessionibus temporalibus capiendis exstitit.*

ecclesiastics who were sincerely desirous of holding divine worship again in places that had been laid under the interdict, took advantage of the pope's avarice, and purchased absolution at the price of a florin.* John of Winterthur complains bitterly of the corruption of the church in relating this: "Oh what a deplorable and abominable schism and disgrace has fallen upon the church in these times! The words of the gospel, 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' seem to have been spoken in vain." This state of things lasted until the emperor's death in the year 1347.

It was now required that homage should be paid throughout Germany to Charles IV. as the emperor acknowledged by the pope. Yet the manner in which it was attempted to carry this out provoked violent opposition of various kinds. The German spirit revolted more and more against the Roman yoke. A more general consciousness was awakened of the corruption of the church, and longing for its purification. The hard conditions which the pope saw fit to require in bestowing absolution on those who had been placed under the ban on account of their connection with the emperor Louis, contributed still more to excite the minds of numbers who still cherished an affectionate remembrance of the unfortunate emperor, and who were disgusted with the yoke of Roman bondage. Men were required to swear that they would renounce their old errors, consider the emperor Louis as excommunicated, never attribute to an emperor the power of deposing the pope, never acknowledge any man to be emperor save the one nominated or confirmed by the pope. These demands were in several districts violently resisted, and called forth the most decided reactions of a spirit in favour of freedom. In many places—in Basle, for example—it was found necessary to yield to the fierce clamours of the people, and to suspend the interdict without farther ado. Here, too, the clergy had an opportunity presented to them for gratifying their avarice. The consecration of burial-places, supposed to have been profaned, might now be converted into a means of gain. From forty to sixty florins were de-

* John of Winterthur, at the year 1345, fol. 78: *Hujusmodi autem absolutio pro uno floreno facillime obtinebatur.*

manded as the price for this service. The consciousness of the corruption of the church now generally awakened, and the temper of the people, who earnestly longed for its regeneration, expressed themselves in a legend which started up afresh and spread far and wide, importing that the emperor Frederic II. was soon to arise from the dead to execute with his mighty arm a sentence of retributive justice on the corrupt clergy, and to restore the church in renovated splendour. John of Winterthur, who relates the story, compares this expectation with that of the Jews who were looking for the Messiah to restore their place and nation. The ten years' reign of Innocent VI. extending to 1362, passed away in tranquillity. He again was favourably distinguished, among the popes of Avignon, for the disposition he manifested to promote the welfare of the church, and to frown on growing abuses. He died in the year 1362, and was succeeded by Urban V. Urban received more and more pressing invitations to come up to the help of the deeply-depressed Roman church in Italy. Petrarch, who had always borne emphatic testimony against the corruption of the papal court at Avignon, addressed to this pope* a letter, invalidating all the scruples against the reconveyance of the papacy to Rome, and calling upon him, in the strongest language, to return to the ancient seat of the pontiffs. He tried to convince the cardinals, men devoted to their pleasures, that in Italy too, a land so highly blessed by nature, nothing would be found wanting; and that they who felt it impossible to give up the wines of Southern France, needed not, after all, to be much afraid of the exchange. He asked the cardinals, whether they had rather be buried in Avignon, among the worst sinners in the world, than in Rome, among saints and martyrs. At length, in the year 1367, Urban made an attempt to return; and he was received in Rome with great demonstrations of joy. But the French cardinals soon pined again after the old seat of their pleasures, and Urban was prevailed upon to yield to their wishes. He repaired once more, in 1370, to Avignon, where he died on the very year of his return. His successor was cardinal Roger, a celebrated Jurist and

* Epp. Senil. l. 7, 1. Oper. ed. Basil. p. 811.

Canonist, called *Gregory XI.* Before he became pope, he had expressed himself strongly in favour of transporting the papal court back to Rome. Both Catharine of Siena, then held in high veneration as a saint, and Brigitta of Sweden, called upon him in the most urgent manner to accomplish this object. A bishop, whom he reprimanded for living away from his see, retorted upon him, by asking why he did not do better than himself. In the year 1376, he returned back with a part of the cardinals to Rome. He shortly after died, in the year 1378.

We might predict beforehand that the death of this pope would be followed by the most violent commotions. The Roman people, notorious for their turbulent spirit, were thoroughly determined that another Frenchman should not be pope, that no one should be chosen but an Italian, and an Italian of whom it might reasonably be expected that he would take up his residence in Rome. Among the cardinals themselves, too, a great schism could not fail to arise between those of Italian and those of French descent. The latter longed to get back to Avignon, or if they were still there, were not inclined to leave France, and it was not to be expected that they would consent to choose an Italian. But neither could the Italian cardinals be easily induced to consent to the choice of a Frenchman. As it was not difficult to foresee the disturbances which would be likely to interrupt the election of a new pope, Gregory XI. had, previous to his death, issued a bull suspending the ordinances then in force relating to the form of the papal election, and decreeing that the cardinals should be at liberty, in case of need, to meet for this election in some place without the walls of Rome, and to proceed directly without waiting for their absent colleagues, to the choice of a pope, and that he who had the majority of votes should immediately enter upon his office. But it was not so easy to carry this bull into effect. For what could induce the turbulent Roman people to permit the cardinals to leave Rome for the express purpose of proceeding to the election in another place less exposed to the influences which the Romans would be very glad to exercise?

As it regards the events that followed, to determine the course which they actually took, belongs among the most

difficult problems of historical criticism. The reports bear on their very face the stamp of opposite party-interests: on the one side an interest to magnify the dangers which the cardinals imagined they had reason to apprehend from the menacing posture of the Roman people, with a view to represent the election that had taken place under such influences as forced, and therefore null and void; on the other side, an interest to keep out of sight everything that implied constraint, with a view to establish the validity of the election as one altogether regular. We have good cause, no doubt, to look upon both these classes of reports as liable, for different reasons, to suspicion, and to be on our guard against exaggerations on one side as well as on the other. By abstracting a little from both sides, we shall be most likely to succeed in making some approximation towards the truth. It may readily be conceived that the uneasy Romans would not be disposed to remain quiet, and patiently await the issue of the election; that, desperately opposed as they were to the choice of a Frenchman, they would do all they could, by playing upon the fears of the cardinals, to prevent them from making such a choice; nor would it probably have required a very great effort to produce the necessary degree of terror in the enervated and effeminate body of men of whom we are speaking, to excite in them that fear of death, which in the customary phraseology of those times was called a *Metus qui cadit etiam in constantem virum*. But from this it does not follow, that the pope's election was a forced one, a sham election, even though it may have been true that the cardinals, under different influences, would have made a different choice. We should endeavour to present distinctly before us the relations then existing among the cardinals in order to understand the reasons which really led to the choice that was made. There were twenty-three cardinals, of whom seventeen were French. Six of these had remained behind in Avignon. Now the clamour of the Romans, demanding that a Roman, or at least an Italian should be pope,* produced, doubtless, a not unimportant impression on the French cardinals constituting

* *Romano lo volemo o almanco Italiano*, according to the report of the French party, Boulay, Hist. Univers. Paris, t. IV. f. 470.

the majority. But in addition to this, a coalition party had been formed; a circumstance which, as often happens, brought about a result that under other circumstances was not to be expected; but a result too, which, for the very reason that it had proceeded from nothing but such a coalition, might easily excite discontent. Among the French themselves, there were two parties, one which was determined to have a pope from the province of Limousin, another which protested against such a choice. Now the latter, merely from opposition to the former, might prefer to go with the Italians in electing an Italian pope. The individual on whom they united was a man to whom no great importance was attached by anybody—a man who until this time had been known only for his rigid ascetic bent, who had occupied himself with nothing but the administration of his episcopal office—a man from whom no party felt that it had anything to fear. This was archbishop Prignano of Bari, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Urban VI. The cardinals, in their circular letters, announced this choice as an undoubtedly regular one; and they gave notice of it to their absent colleagues at Avignon. But no great stress, we must allow, is to be laid on the declarations of a college composed of so many heartless and utterly corrupt men. While they thus expressed themselves publicly, one of the French cardinals wrote secretly to the French king that no declaration which they might make, whilst they remained in Rome, was to be relied upon; for they were governed by the fear of the Roman people.* Yet Urban VI. would probably, by a wise and prudent course of conduct, have been able to secure peace and unanimity. But he ruined everything by the haughty bearing which he assumed, and by his indiscreet and passionate behaviour. The cardinals found him to be an entirely different man from what they had expected. They were the more exasperated against him on this account; and many, who for other reasons had been unwilling to recognise an Italian,

* Thus relates the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Paris, Master Henry, of Langenstein in Hessa, called Henricus de Hessa, in his Dialogue De Schismate as Boulay reports in his Hist. Univers. Paris, t. IV. f. 463.

now only looked about for an opportunity to get rid of him. The disaffected complained of the hot season of the year, as a pretext for leaving Rome. They betook themselves to Anagni. There, before the archbishop of Arles, chamberlain of the Roman church, they solemnly protested against the validity of Urban's election. They declared it to have been made under constraint. In a circular letter they declared it to have been their expectation that Urban himself, knowing the invalidity of his election, would never think of calling himself pope. They declared him, therefore, to be a disturber of the peace of the church, a perjured man, a destroyer of Christendom ; and they forbade obedience to him as pope, under penalty of the ban. Next, they repaired to a place of security, to Ferredi, for the purpose of proceeding to a new election, when three Italians joined themselves to the French cardinals. At this election they assuredly did not direct their attention to any of the qualifications, spiritual or clerical, requisite for such an office ; but they looked about only for a man who could best serve their purposes, and made choice of one whose chief title to importance was his relationship to princely families, and the large stretch of his conscience.* This was the cardinal-bishop Robert of Cambray, who named himself pope Clement VII.

This was the beginning of the forty years' schism in the Western church, one of the most important of the links in the chain of events which contributed to the overthrow of the papal absolutism of the middle age, and to prepare for the great reaction of the Christian mind which took place in the sixteenth century. We have, indeed, seen already in earlier times schisms occasioned by the election of a pope : these, however, were of no long duration ; nor did they lead to any such deeply-cut division in the church. The way in which this schism arose is evidence in itself of the great corruption of the cardinals ; and as the corruption of a part is ever closely connected with some defect of the whole, and presents a good reason for inferring a common guilt, so it was in the present case with regard to the

* *Largæ conscientiæ*, as Theodoric of Niem, then the pope's chamberlain in Rome, calls it, in his work *De Schismate*, lib. 1, cap. 10.

general condition of the church. If, already, during the residence of the popes at Avignon, the abuses in the church had spread so widely, and risen to so enormous a pitch, yet all became still worse during this schism and by means of it. As the dominion of each of the two popes was circumscribed in its province, and as each must maintain his state in contending with the other, so they were forced to resort to still greater extortions than had ever been practised, to the complete prostration of the church. Simony, and the mischief of indulgences, arbitrary will in selecting candidates for ecclesiastical offices, got more and more the upper hand. But it seems to have been necessary that the corruption of the church should reach its highest point, in order to make every one sensible of it, and to awaken a more general attention to the causes of so great an evil. An examination free from all bias would undoubtedly have led to the conclusion that Urban's election was regularly conducted; and in the reasons brought forward to prove the contrary it is impossible not to see a great deal that is sophistical. But as national party interest soon mixed itself in with this inquiry, while Urban VI. did everything *on his part* to excite the prejudices of men against him, so there might be much sharp fighting on both sides, with the weapons of that sort of polemical warfare, which is waged in behalf of opposite inclinations; and as important men were to be seen on both sides, it would be found so much the more difficult for those who were governed only by the authority of names to decide who was true pope. And when men had continued for a long time to be in doubt as to who was the true pope, the faith in the necessity of one visible head would necessarily become unsettled. It was impossible to put an end to the mischievous schism so long as the traditional forms and principles of ecclesiastical laws were tenaciously adhered to. It was necessary to recognise a tribunal still higher even than the pope, in order at length to bring the contests between the conflicting parties to a decision. Accordingly it was necessary to turn away from papal absolutism to the principles of the ancient and freer ecclesiastical law. But it was necessary, also, that it should be clearly understood, that the schism was not the only, nor yet the principal evil of the church. It was necessary, in fine,

to recognise in all this only a symptom of a still more deeply-lying corruption. It was necessary to come to this, to be conscious that the schism itself was an admonition from God calling upon men to examine into the causes of the corruption of the church, and to begin to prepare the way for its regeneration. The question was whether, by the united efforts of the most important forces, so deep-rooted an evil of the church could be healed, or whether all these efforts would prove fruitless, and thus serve only to fix deeper the conviction that the church needed a far different and more radical cure. Under these more favourable circumstances, it became possible for that party so long suppressed, which in contending for the liberties of the national churches, and the independence of the episcopal system, had first stood forth to oppose the growth and formation of papal absolutism, once more to stand up in the struggle with that absolutism which now formed the nucleus for all the corruptions of the church. This freer tendency had its seat more particularly in France, and in this country it had continued to maintain the struggle for the longest time. It was from this country more particularly, therefore, that a reaction of this sort against the mediæval papacy now proceeded again. The theologians of the university of Paris, a body of men whose voice had the most important influence in all affairs of general moment, were the most prominent representatives and organs of the same. Whilst, however, this party confined itself simply to the reform of the church constitution, holding fast to the foundation of the churchly theocratical system, and seeking only to clear away from it the rubbish of later additions, another was gradually developing itself, inclined to a more thorough and radical species of reform, hostile to this conservative element, a party which attacked the reigning system at its very foundation, demanding a regeneration of the church on the basis of the original Christian principles, foretoking the renovated and Christian spirit, which afterwards broke triumphantly forth in the German Reformation. Of this the great movements began in England and Bohemia; Wickliff and Huss were the representatives of it; and had it not been for that schism within the church, that enfeeblement of the papal power brought about by its partition, neither

could these movements have arisen, and developed themselves to the extent which they did.*

The new pope Clement repaired once more to Avignon, and sought to gain over to his side the voice of France. Not till after a careful examination of the claims of the two popes before an assembly of the Gallic church held at Vincennes, did king Charles, with the whole church, declare in favour of Clement. The university of Paris was inclined at first to acknowledge neither of the two individuals who had been elected, but declaring itself neutral to propose a general council which should investigate the whole affair and bring it to a decision. It was predicted that unless this were done the seeds of schism would every day become more widely disseminated. It is true, the university yielded on the whole to the decisions of the council of Vincennes, and to the invitation of the king, who was desirous of having the concurrence of the university in those decisions; yet a minority still held fast to their previous opinions. The whole church was divided into three parties, the Urbanists, Clementines, and neutrals or indifferents. At Paris, Henry of Hessa stood at the head of the latter party. He composed, under the title of *Epistola Pacis*, a work in the form of a dialogue between an Urbanist and Clementist, each of whom presents the arguments of his own party. After having placed the arguments of these parties one against the other, he sums up with the following declaration: "There is no other means of restoring on a solid basis the peace of the church but the meeting of all the prelates in a general council. Without this the minds of men, even though one of the two popes should obtain the ascendancy, could not be set at rest for any great length of time. The same doubts would arise again about the succession of one or the other of them.†

In the year 1381, the assembled heads of the university of Paris came to the resolution that it was best to insist

* Henry of Hessa in his *Epistola Pacis*: Sic orbem divisum, ut sapientia fulgeat apud Gallicos, aurum abundet apud Italicos et fortitudo militum apud Germanos. Bulæus, IV. f. 576.

† Extract from the work in Bulæus. The end, f. 578: Absque cujus conventu credo vix unquam posse ad plenum corda quietari omnium.

upon the calling of a general council for the purpose of healing the schism, and that they would use their utmost endeavours to prevail upon the princes and prelates to resort to this method.* The first to lift up his voice for the calling of a general council, as the only sure means of restoring peace to the church, was the above-mentioned Henry of Langenstein in Hessa, professor of theology at Paris, in his "Counsel of Peace," a work composed by him in the year 1381.†

He looks upon the evils that had sprung out of this schism as an admonition from God, designed to bring men to a consciousness of the corruption of the church, and to lead them to seek earnestly after the necessary reform.‡ He thus addresses the princes and prelates: "Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, repent and do works meet for repentance for the evils and sins which have been the cause of this schism." He notices the objections which, on the position held by the advocates of the old papal absolutism, were raised against the assembling of a general council, and endeavours to invalidate them, first by assuming the position itself from which these objections proceeded, as his point of departure, and then by opposing to it a higher Christian position. We see in France the same principles employed in reference to civil and to ecclesiastical law. As the civilians proceeded on the assumption, that the weal of the state at large was the highest law, to which the kingly power itself must be subservient, and attributed to the collective body the right to revolt against and depose a ruler who by the abuse of his power, should act contrary to the well-being of the whole, so the opponents of papal absolutism ascribed the same power to the church at large in relation to bad popes. And this power was to be exercised precisely by a general council, which represented the whole church. Such a council, which might be convoked even by the collective body of cardinals, must

* This, Henry of Hessa cites in his *Consilium Pacis*, c. 13, in Hermann Von der Hardt, *Conc. Const.* t. II. f. 33.

† *Consilium Pacis*.

‡ C. 3. *Hanc tribulationem a Deo non gratis permissam, sed in necessariam opportunamque ecclesiæ reformationem finaliter convertendam.*

derive its authority directly from Christ himself, the eternal and immutable Head of the church, and pass its resolutions in *his* name.* Christ, the author regards as the supreme, the only unconditionally necessary Head of the church, standing with it in indissoluble union; the head from which the church, his mystical body, derives incessantly the movement and spirit of life. Hence she cannot err, nor as a whole be stained with any mortal sin. To the complete organism of the church should also belong, it is true, the papacy, as a *caput secundarium*. Yet in case of a vacancy in the papal chair, or of doubt as to what person was true pope, the absence of that "secondary head" must admit of being supplied by Christ as the Head inseparable from the church. To the gift of Constantine the author traces, in great part, the corruption of the church; though he acknowledges that it may have been a necessary or salutary thing for the church at a *certain stage* of its progress. For by means of it she became overladen with honour, power, and wealth; and hence it came about that so many, without distinction, foolish and wise, boys and old men, bad and good, by right and by wrong, eagerly sought after the fat benefices of the church. He suggests many single projects of reform, which should be discussed by the general council. Among these belongs the renewal of the provincial synods, to be biennially convened: the doing away with the superfluous pomp of the prelates and cardinals, which was so great as to lead them sometimes to forget they were men; some provision against the bad management of patronage and appointments to ecclesiastical offices. He felt it necessary to complain that many but moderately-educated persons held five, six, or eight benefices, though not worthy of holding even one. "See to it," says he, "whether horses, hounds, falcons, and the superfluous domestics of the clergy may not at the present time, far more than the Christian poor, be eating up the heritage of the church."

* Henry's own words: *Ac si in nullo casu liceret populo vel alicui sine auctoritate principis contra statuta communia pro defensione sui et paternarum legum militare, seu principi volenti rempublicam et civium universitatem destruere, ad cujus conservationem est constitutus, tamquam hosti non regi resistere.* C. 15, f. 42.

Urban VI. was, at the beginning, the pope recognised in the majority of the kingdoms. The places of those cardinals who had abandoned him, he supplied by new appointments. But he ruined his cause by his own passionate wilfulness and extreme imprudence. He had brought it about, that duke Charles of 'Durazzo should be made king of Naples. But after this he fell into a quarrel with that prince, because he refused to comply with the pope's wishes in promoting one of his worthless nephews. He himself with the cardinals repaired to Naples, for the purpose of working upon that prince by his personal influence. In this, however, he did not succeed, but was drawn into a quarrel with Charles which daily grew more bitter. He was closely besieged in a castle; and here all he could do was to go through the idle farce of stepping twice every day to a window, and pronouncing the ban on the whole army. At length he was set free by a Genoese fleet and transported to Genoa. Several cardinals, who had grown tired of the worthless conduct of their pope, and of the humiliations which he thus drew down upon himself, consulted with one another as to the best method of placing the pope under surveillance, and so circumscribing his power as to keep him from such indiscreet steps. Urban having been informed of this, caused the suspected cardinals to be arrested. His vengeance knew no bounds. He employed the rack to lay bare the whole conspiracy. Thus he made himself more hateful every day, and promoted the cause of his opponent. Urban, who died in the year 1389, was succeeded by Boniface IX., a man destitute of every moral quality, as well as the knowledge requisite for an ecclesiastical office. His ruling passion was the love of money. All means were right to him which could minister to this passion. The well-being of the church went with him for nothing. As Theodoric of Niem reports, he was ignorant of all business in the Roman chancery, and hence approved of everything that happened to be laid before him.* "In secular things," says the same writer, "he was

* L. 2, De Schismate, c. 6: Ignoravit gravitatem pontificalis officii, et adeo supplicationes sibi propositas indiscrete signavit, ac si nunquam fuisset in Romana curia constitutus, nec quæ petebantur in ipsis intellexit, et propositiones factas coram eo per advocatos in ejus consis-

not a little fortunate ; but weak in spiritual things.* When mass was celebrated before him in the midst of many assembled prelates, this or that secretary would ever and anon be coming to him, to make some report about pecuniary matters, which to him were the most momentous of all.†

His accession to office happened at a time which might bring large accessions of gain to one who did nothing but make traffic of spiritual things to the ruin of the church. Pope Clement VI. had, as we have remarked, already reduced the time of the jubilee to fifty years. It was probably the hope of gain that induced Urban VI. to shorten the time to thirty-three years. He died on the very year when this period returned, and left the fruits to his successor. An innumerable multitude from Germany, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, England, and other kingdoms where Urban was acknowledged, came together in Rome, and large oblations were presented in the churches. Some portion was used for the reconstruction of ruined church edifices. But the major part came into the hands of Boniface and many others. Not contented with this, Boniface sent‡ letters of indulgence and preachers of indulgence into all countries. These agents sold the indulgence to all who gave the same sum as by computation the journey to Rome would have cost them. Thus the sellers of indulgences were enabled to bring back from many countries more than a hundred thousand florins ; and inasmuch as they bargained off their indulgences, which to the people appeared the same as forgiveness of sins, without requiring penitence, they laid the foundation of immense mischief.§ For money one might obtain from them, by virtue of the power to bind and loose, which they

torio toto tempore sui pontificatus non intelligens ad petita nimis confuse respondit, unde inscitia fere vernalis facta fuit in curia tempore suo.

* L. 2, c. 13 : *In temporalibus non mediocriter fortunatus, sed in spiritualibus debilis.*

† L. c. c. 11.

‡ Theodoric of Niem says of him, in this connection : *Erat enim insatiabilis vorago et in avaritia nullus ei similis.* Lib. 1, c. 68.

§ Theodoric of Niem, *ibid.* : *Quia omnia peccata etiam sine poenitentia ipsis confitentibus relaxaverunt.*

claimed for themselves, all sorts of dispensation. Enriched, they returned back in great state to Rome. Many of them Boniface caused to be arrested, on the charge of embezzlement. Theodoric of Niem remarks, that several of these people came to a bad end, either falling victims to the fury of the people, or committing suicide. "It was befitting," says he, "that they who so deceived the Christian people, when they were only serving their own cupidity, should perish miserably.* Simony and extortion from the churches reached, under this pope, their highest pitch." In the first seven years† he was still somewhat restrained from respect to the better disposed among the cardinals, and pursued the traffic more clandestinely. No sooner, however, had these better persons died than he cast off all further shame. With a view to cover simony under some show of law, he made it a rule, that none should obtain the more important ecclesiastical offices, without first advancing a sum of money, which, by the estimate of the Roman chancery, should equal the income of the first year, the so-called *annates*. But now the same amount was required even for the expectancy; and thus many paid the money who never came into actual possession of the office. All sorts of usury became common to meet the expenses of such a purchase. Many vagabond monks roved idly about Rome, seeking promotion, which by bad arts might easily be obtained at that time at the Roman court. The most worthless of men could get promoted to the highest posts. The *Bonifacian plantation*, as it was called—a phrase to denote the most corrupt members of the clergy—became a byword in every man's mouth.

Meantime the university of Paris did not cease to carry on its work according to the principles, which, in this affair, they had expressed from the beginning; and they lent all their energies to bring about the restoration of peace to the church, and the reformation of its abuses. They kept an incessant and attentive watch over the conduct of the two popes. But the political relations of the kingdom were unfavourable to them—the regency during

* *Justum erat, ut hi, qui taliter Christianum populum deceperint, eorum avaritiæ consulentes male perderentur.*

† 2, 7.

the minority of king Charles VI. of France, and afterwards his mental derangement. Clement found in Cardinal Peter de Luna of Arragon a very skilful and able negotiator, by whose means he endeavoured to form a party among the French princes, and, without sticking at bribery, to set influences at work against the university. Finally, the latter contrived, in spite of all difficulties, to carry out their object; and in the year 1394 obtained license to set forth publicly before the king their opinion respecting the most appropriate method of restoring tranquillity to the church. From their own number was chosen a distinguished man to draw up the judgment, Nicholas of Clemangis, so named from his native place, Clamanges in Champagne, belonging to the diocese of Chalons sur Marne. He was educated at the Paris university, became a member of the collegium of Navarre, was master of the liberal arts, then Baccalaureus of Theology, and a disciple of the chancellor Gerson. He was even more distinguished than that great man for enlarged views and classical culture. In this theological tendency he was not cramped and confined within the common limits of the university of Paris, as we shall hereafter perceive. In the judgment drawn up by his pen, and which he presented to the king at the head of a deputation from the university, we recognise his own spirit and style.

There were three methods, among which the university left freedom for choice: that both popes should, for the good of the church, resign; that they should submit their respective claims to the investigation of chosen and approved men; or the meeting of a general council.*

This council should, according to the then current legal form, consist of prelates exclusively; or else inasmuch as these, to their shame and reproach,† were for the most part ignorant, and several of them too partial‡ to one or the other side, there must be joined with the prelates, in equal number, masters and doctors of theology and of law from the universities; or, if these were not enough, dele-

* The *via cessionis*, *compromissi* aut *concilii generalis*. The judgment in *Bulæ*. l. 1, p. 687, seq.

† *Quia plures eorum pro pudor! hodie satis illiterati sunt*. P. 690.

‡ *Pluresque ad alterutram partem inordinate affecti*.

gates should be added from the cathedral churches, the chapters, and the monastic orders. Next, the right to the meeting of a general council is defended against the arguments alleged to the contrary by the advocates of the old church doctrine. Although this method had been objected to as an unsuitable one, by some flatterers and promoters of this monstrous schism, from its beginning down to the present time, rather to nourish the disorder than to act according to the judgment of truth; yet whoever would examine into the matter without prejudice, must see that this method was by no means so objectionable. There was, indeed, so much the more need of a general council, at a time when discipline, manners, and good order had, by the operation of this mischief-bringing schism, sunk to the lowest ebb, and so many abuses had crept abroad, that if the church were not soon helped, she must be plunged in irremediable ruin. "Too late," he exclaims, addressing the popes, "will it repent you to have looked about after no remedies. If now, when it stands in your power, you do not see the near-impending dangers, who do you suppose will still be willing to endure such government of the church?—who to bear these extortions and wrongs of the church?—who, these cheap promotions of all the worthless and the most ignorant to all the highest dignities? You deceive yourselves, assuredly you deceive yourselves, if you suppose that this will long be tolerated in you. If men will not see it, or, seeing it, will be silent, the very stones shall cry out against you."

To the question, whence comes the authority of a council, he answers,—“The consent and agreement of all the faithful will confer it; Christ in the gospel confers it, when he says, ‘Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am in the midst of them.’”

After a full explanation of the above-mentioned three methods for the restoration of unity, it is declared: Which-ever of the two popes refuses to adopt one of these three methods, or to propose some other, is to be regarded as an obstinate schismatic, and therefore a heretic. He is no shepherd of the church, but a tyrant, and must no longer be obeyed.

The king is, most earnestly called upon to do all in his

power for the restoration of peace to the church ; to make all secular affairs give way to this. To this end, the evils that had resulted from the schism are minutely portrayed. In connection with this, to be sure, we find it erroneously assumed—for it is an error according to the history as we have presented it—that the church down to the time of this schism had been in a flourishing condition. But this statement is somewhat modified ; for the existing evils are not imputed directly and solely to the schism itself, but in part also to the preceding state of things ; so that a time of corruption may accordingly be marked, which existed previous to the schism.* Worthless and wicked men had been promoted to the government of the church, and were still promoted to the same ; men to whom nothing was sacred ; by whose disgraceful acts, and in ministration to whose pleasures, the churches were drained, the monasteries plundered. The priests were seen begging, or they were employed on the most menial and degrading services. The church utensils of gold and silver were in many places sold to eke out those extortions. How many churches had been brought to ruin ! He complains of the simony which had occasioned the worst appointments to spiritual offices. It was not the learned who received promotion ; but the more learned men were, the more were they detested, because by such simony was more boldly castigated than by others. As the most wicked abuse of all, to describe which language scarcely strong enough could be found, he signalises the abuse in the administration of the sacraments, especially of ordination and of penance.† Nothing was to be said about the curtailment of the liberties of the church, and the loss of its goods, for they were only temporals ; although, in these times, temporals were regarded as of the greater importance.‡

The university next defended itself against the reproach that it chose to inveigh against the pope, (for whose honour

* Quid ante hoc schisma schismatisque præambula ecclesia florentius ? P. 693.

† Et quod iniquissimum est, nec satis exaggerari verbis potest, hæc est, quæ damnatissima corruptela sacramentorum omnium injustas collationes et præcipue ordinum ac poenitentiae turpi detestabilique quæstu vendit. P. 694.

‡ Quamquam majora isti hæc temporalia judicant.

the university should be more zealous than all others), from its ambition to govern all things, especially in the church, according to its will. They who cast upon the university this reproach, it was said, were endeavouring to maintain the schism in the church for their own emolument; for, in any well-ordered condition of the church, they would find it impossible to secure so many and fat benefices.* It is true, said the university, they do not want to govern the church; they prefer to let themselves be governed; but they do want, on the other hand, to practise extortions, to destroy and rend the churches. And because, constrained by our own conscience and the truth, we cannot remain silent at this, because we are neither willing nor able to bear it with equanimity, it is for this reason that they, in so great danger of the church, have fabricated such charges against us. Does it become us to keep silence where the very stones ought to cry out?

When the university presented this writing, they received at first an evasive answer. But when they pressed for a more decided declaration, they received for answer, It was the king's pleasure that they should neither treat nor consider this matter any farther, that they should not receive nor open any letters relating to it until they had first been shown to the king. Upon this the university carried into effect the resolution previously passed, that sermons and lectures should be suspended by all their members until satisfaction was given to their demands.† Next, the university addressed to the pope a very frank and bold letter, in which they strongly protested against the intriguing conduct of the cardinal Peter de Luna, without mentioning his name, and urgently besought him to do all in his power, to put a speedy end to the schism; so that this schism—which God avert—might not become an everlasting one, for the thing had already come to that pass, that men were heard openly to say, it made no sort of difference how many popes there were. There might be

* *Magnas quippe dignitates et crassa beneficia in hac turbata ecclesia assequuntur, quas integra ac unita se nunquam adipisci posse et merito confiderent.* P. 695.

† *Bulæus*, l. c. p. 696.

not two or three only, but even twelve. Each realm might have its own ecclesiastical superior; and each of these might be independent of the others.*

It is clear from this, how the being accustomed to have no generally-acknowledged pope, had already had the effect of leading men to think, that perhaps one universal visible head of the church was a thing not necessary. The pope, it is said, manifested great indignation in reading this letter, calling it, as was reported to the university, a malignant and venomous letter.† The university thereupon issued a second letter to the pope, vindicating itself from this reproach, and showing that they had acted out of pure zeal for the welfare of the church, still expressing themselves, however, with great freedom. But Clement was already dead. Now, if it had been possible at this juncture to prevent a new papal election on this side, the removal of the schism would thereby have been greatly facilitated. The university of Paris endeavoured to bring this about by letters and delegates sent to the king, and directly afterwards to the college of cardinals: but they could effect nothing. The cardinals at Avignon only made more haste to complete their election, so as to frustrate this design. They thought themselves bound to maintain their rights against the other party. Yet before proceeding to the election, they pledged themselves‡ to use every effort to bring about the restoration of peace to the church, and agreed that whichever one of them should be chosen pope, he would not hesitate, if it should be necessary to effect that end, to resign his dignity. The already-named cardinal Peter de Luna of Arragon, a man far superior to his predecessors, at least in clerical dignity, plausible manners, and the art of managing men, was chosen pope. He called himself Benedict XIII. He had been, earlier, professor of the canon law at Montpellier,

* Ut plerumque passim et publice non vereantur dicere, Nihil omnino curandum, quot papæ sint, et non solummodo duo aut tres, sed decem aut duodecim, imo et singulis regnis singulos præfici posse, nulla sibi invicem potestatis aut jurisdictionis auctoritate prælatos. L. 1, p. 700.

† Malæ sunt et venenosæ. L. 1, p. 701.

‡ The form is to be found in Bulæ. l. c. f. 730.

and had enjoyed a good reputation.* Gregory XI. made him cardinal.† He had thus far, as Theodoric of Niem says, manifested great zeal for the restoration of the unity of the church. When employed by pope Clement on embassies, he had found fault, because the pope did nothing for the restoration of concord to the church. But his administration of the papacy did not answer the expectations which his previous conduct may have inspired. He utterly ignored the pledge which he had given before he assumed the papal dignity. He did not recognise the form of that oath, when sent to him, as genuine, and asserted that a pope could not be bound.‡

In the year 1401,§ Nicholas of Clemangis composed his remarkable book *on the Corruptions of the Church*, in which he sets forth these corruptions, affecting all portions of the church, in the darkest colours, and yet most assuredly in accordance with the truth. He, too, not only considers the schism as a consequence of the corruptions in the church, but also as a means designed to bring men to the consciousness of them. "Who does not know," says he, "that this frightful pest of schism was first introduced into the church by the wickedness of the cardinals, that by them it has been promoted, propagated, and enabled to strike its roots so deep?"|| "If," says he, "all kingdoms, however mighty, great, and exalted, have been prostrated to the

* Theodoric of Niem writes concerning him, from an acquaintance with him thirty-six years before at Montpellier: *Homo ingeniosus et ad inveniendum res novas valde subtilis*. Cf. l. 2, c. 33.

† Theodoric of Niem says of him: *Qui tunc satis dilegebatur a multis, eo quod peritus et virtuosus existeret, a pluribus laudabatur*.

‡ Du Boulay, p. 729, cites the letter of the pope to the king of France: *Respondemus, quod qui tibi vel aliis ista scripserunt, vel quomodolibet retulerunt, minus veridice id egerunt, et propterea dictam copiam, quam confictam esse constanter asserimus, tibi remittimus*. It bids the cardinals, p. 731, *ne in dicta schedula vos subscribatis, nec etiam consentiatis aliquo aliter aliis, quæ non licent seu non decent, seu ex quibus occasio forte posset deprehendi, quod contra reverentiam, obedientiam aut honorem nobis et ecclesiæ Romanæ per vos debitas, seu laudabiles mores inter nos et vos, prædecessores nostros et vestros observari consuetos aliqua fierent*.

§ As he himself says in the book *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, c. 16,—H. v. d. Hardt, tom. I. pars III. p. 18, when the division had already lasted nearly twenty-three years.

|| C. 16.

dust by injustice and pride, how knowest thou"—so he addresses the church—"when thou hast cast far from thee the firm rock of humility thou wast founded on, and which feared no storm of invasion, and hast lifted thy horn on high, that such a fabric of pride, erected by thyself, will not be overthrown? Already has thy pride, which could not sustain itself, begun slowly and gradually to fall, and on this account its fall was not perceived by the majority. But now thou art wholly plunged in the gulf, and especially since the breaking out of this abominable schism. Most surely has the divine anger permitted this to come upon thee as a check to thy intolerable wickedness, that thy domination, so displeasing to God, so odious to the nations, may, by being divided within itself, come to nought." Not that the true faith would run any hazard in this conflict of contending churches in the world: this being founded upon the firm rock would remain unshaken; but it was otherwise with all that temporal power, glory, and pleasure wherewith the church was overladen even to loathing and the forgetfulness of herself.* As the cessation of the synagogue followed close upon the destruction of Jerusalem, so the fall of Rome, as seat and head of the church, seemed to indicate that the destruction of the church herself and her dominion might be near at hand. For how could she long subsist, who, deprived of her original seat and head, was obliged to roam about fugitive and inconstant, and, like a stranger in the world, wander from one place to another? She must have foreseen her impending fall, since the time that, detested for her fornication, she fled from Rome to Avignon; where, in proportion to her greater freedom, she more openly and shamelessly exposed to view the ways of her simony and profanation, bringing foreign and perverted manners, the source of infinite mischief, into France. Where good manners and severe discipline once reigned, immoderate luxury had, by her means, now begun to spread. Holding up the synagogue as an antetype of the church, he bids the latter take warning by the fate of the former. Then he addresses

* *Loquor de temporali potentatu, de gloria et deliciis, quibus usque ad nauseam et oblivionem sui ipsa ecclesia obruta est. Cap. 42.*

the church; "Awake, for once, from thy long sleep, O wretched sister of the synagogue! Awake, I say, at last, for once; and set a limit to thy intoxication, which it might take thee long enough, so to speak, to sleep out! If one spark of a sound understanding still remains in thee, search diligently into the writings of the prophets, and know from them that the hour of thy shame is no longer at a distance, but close by. Thou wilt see what an end awaits thee; and how evil and dangerous it is for thee to lie long in this filth." * He describes † into what ignominious dependence on the French court, Clement VII. had cast himself; how he was compelled to sacrifice the good of the church to the interests of the French princes. He speaks of the scandalous bargaining away of benefices. "What poorer creature," says he, "was there than our Clement as long as he lived, who had so debased himself to the condition of a servant of servants to the princes of France, that such threats and scornful language were daily heaped upon him by the people of the court, as ought not to be borne by the most miserable slave! He gave way to their rage, he gave way to the time, he gave way to clamorous demands. He used falsehoods, disguises; gave splendid promises; put off with fair hopes from one day to another. To some he gave benefices, others he held at bay with words. All who by the art of flattery, or of playing the buffoon, had made themselves agreeable to the court, he took every pains to please, and to secure their favour by benefices, in order that by the good offices of such he might make sure of the favour of their master." On the handsome and well-dressed young men, in whose companionship he most delighted, he had bestowed nearly all the vacant bishoprics and other most honourable posts. The more easily to secure and preserve the goodwill of the princes, he had himself, and without solicitation, sent them presents, allowed them to practise any extortions they chose on the clergy, nay, even invited them to do so at their pleasure. In this most deplorable servitude, which could not be called a government of the church, he had spent more than fifteen years, inflicting an injury on the church surpassing all belief.

* Cap. 41.

† Cap. 42.

He goes through the several orders and offices of the church for the purpose of pointing out the corruption in them all. He describes* the worldly pride and state of the cardinals, who, when they had been raised from the lowest rank and from the humblest offices to that highest dignity—as, for example, from the condition of gravediggers—wholly forgot what they once were, and looked down upon all the other spiritual offices of the church with disdain. He reproached them with their luxurious habits of living;† accused them of grasping at all the benefices, of practising simony. He speaks‡ of the bad appointments to benefices proceeding from the Roman chancery, which had usurped everything to itself. Not from studious pursuits and the school alone, but from the plough, and from menial employments, individuals were here and there called to the guidance of parishes and to the other benefices; men who understood little more of Latin than they did of the Arabic language; nay, men who could not even read, and, shame to say, hardly knew the alphabet. But may they not perhaps have made amends for this ignorance by the excellence of their manners? Not in the least. Brought up without learning in idleness, they busied themselves only with looking out for their pleasures, feasting and sporting. Hence in all places, so many bad, wretched, ignorant priests, whose scandalous lives made them both offensive and sources of corruption to the communities. Hence the expressions of contempt for priests on the lips of all the people. While it was formerly the case, that with people of the world the priesthood stood in the highest honour, and nothing was considered more worthy of respect than this order, now nothing was considered more deserving of contempt. He complains§ that the study of the Scriptures, and every man who engaged in that study, were ridiculed; and especially—which was most to be wondered at—by the bishops, who looked upon their own decrees as of vastly more importance than the divine precepts. That glorious office of preaching, the fairest of all offices, and which once belonged solely to the pastors, had sunk among them to so low

* Cap. 13.

† Immensa et inexcusabilis vorago concupiscentiæ.

‡ Cap. 7.

§ Cap. 19.

esteem, that there was nothing they held to be more worthless, or less becoming their dignity. He points out* the mendicants as being almost the only persons that occupied themselves with the study of the Scriptures, that supplied the office of preaching, who alone, as they affirmed, administered the functions of all the church offices which were neglected by all others, alone represented that which by the vices, the ignorance, and remissness of all the rest had fallen into desuetude. But next he attacks these also, representing them as the genuine successors of the Pharisees described in the gospels, who, under their show of holiness, concealed all manner of wickedness. They were ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, who put on for outside show, severity of life, chastity, humility, holy simplicity, but in secret abandoned themselves to the choicest pleasures, to a dainty variety of luxurious enjoyments. He acknowledges† that in the midst of the great mass of the bad members of the church there was doubtless also a good seed; since Christ had promised of the church at large, that her faith should not become utterly extinct; but in the midst of so many that were bad, the small number of the good vanished to a *point*. The proportion was scarcely one to a thousand. And whenever an individual in a community distinguished himself by his pious living, he was made a butt of ridicule for the rest, was pointed out as a proud man, a singular fellow, an insane person, or a hypocrite; hence numbers from whom some good might come, had they been associated with the good, were in the society of the bad swept along into wickedness.

Clemangis saw more profoundly than others into the corruptions of the church, and its causes; and hence he placed but little confidence in the means employed for its removal. He was penetrated with a thorough conviction that the thing needed here was a deep-going process of purification, to be accomplished only by the wisdom and almighty power of God; and he saw that the evils which men vainly sought to heal by higher remedies, must, in spite of all human expedients, continually go on increasing

* Cap. 33.

† Cap. 39, 40.

to their fullest measure before that help could come from God. "Because," says he, "the church, though torn and rent by so many calamities, refused to humble herself, she justly, therefore, must first be humbled by Him who humbles whatever exalteth itself, and exalts the lowly, to the end that she may return back to the state of grace from which she has fallen. She must first be still more afflicted, still more smitten; not till then can she be healed."* "For," says he, "as regards the restoration of the church, rent asunder by this unhappy schism, it is vain to hope that anything of this sort will be brought about by us. This can never be accomplished by man's work, never by any human art whatsoever. This thing requires of a certainty another hand. And if ever a union of the church shall take place, the physician that effects it must be He who gave the wound; for the wound is so grave and incurable as to be incapable of healing by any other pains. A great deal has been done on this subject, a great deal written; a great deal said; many embassies have been undertaken on account of it. But the more we have met and deliberated and proposed, the more complicated and obscure the matter has grown; for God mocks our pains, because we fancy ourselves able by our own prudence and skill, without *his* help, to accomplish what is his work alone. Add to this, that we are unworthy of receiving peace from him and of having peace; for God the Lord has said, "There is no peace to the wicked." He looks forward in expectation of a persecution of the church, sent as a divine judgment, and growing out of the schism. By this persecution coming from the secular power, the church would be deprived of the rights and possessions not her own which she had brought within her grasp, and reduced back to poverty. "This persecution," says he, "will come upon us sooner perhaps than many are aware. We might see the foundation already laid for it in various ways, were we not so blinded; and any man possessed of his senses may certainly see how this persecution threatens to break out more and more every day." Scanning with a prophetic eye the remote future as if it were near at hand, Clemangis predicts

* Cap. 43.

such a process of purification and such a revolution of the church, as subsequently proceeded from the Reformation. "What methods," he concludes, "still remain in thy hands, O Christ, if thou wilt purify thy church from such dross as that into which its gold and silver have been converted? what other method, than that thou wilt finally purge away from the refining even this dross itself, which can by no refining fire be again transmuted into gold and silver, and prepare in it a new metal of untarnished purity?"

In order clearly to understand how this distinguished man judges concerning the corruption of the church of his time, and concerning the means requisite for its cure, we should compare with this book a treatise which he addressed to a friend of his, who was candidate for a theological degree, and proposed to hold lectures on the *Sentences* at some university. This was his treatise on the *Study of Theology*.* He represents the chief end of theological study to be education for the office of preaching. In the neglect of this, he finds the principal cause of the corruption of the church. In the exercise of this office, we ought chiefly to imitate Christ; for his whole activity had consisted in teaching. "For sometimes," says he, "Christ taught his disciples, sometimes the multitude, sometimes the Pharisees; occasionally he taught in the synagogue, often in the temple, sometimes on the land, sometimes on the water, sometimes on mountains, sometimes on the plains; oftentimes he taught many together; then, again, individuals. Who should not say, then, that the best method is the one which Christ, the perfect pattern of all that is good, practised unceasingly while living in the flesh? But what is meant by being a teacher? What else than this: with the right art, with experience, and zeal for the cure of souls, to teach others? For it is not the square cap, not the higher pulpit that makes the doctor." "To the theologian or to the preacher," says he, "for I look upon both as *one and the same*—it belongs, in particular, to live uprightly according to the will of God, that in the practice of this commandment, and in all life and conversation, he may furnish a pattern to all." He accordingly regards the practical

* De Studio Theologico, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, vol. I. p. 473, seq.

element as the end and aim of theological study, and disputes a theologian of some eminence, who had asserted that to teach and dispute at the university was something of higher note than to preach. "Since," says he, "the end of theological study is to instruct in the right manner one's self and others in that which pertains to eternal life, so we may see which we should consider as most profitable and salutary, whether actively to discharge the predicatorial office in zeal for the salvation of souls, or after one has obtained the academical degree, to remain always at the university, teaching and disputing. What purpose," says he, "is all this to serve? Certainly this purpose—to form others that they may be capable of leading the rest to salvation. Now if the means must correspond to the end, is it not better, by one's own preaching, to lead others to salvation, than to educate such as are destined thus to operate on others, but will perhaps never do so?"* Who must not see," he says, "that it is better to banish errors out of the hearts of men, than out of books? In many things, the people at the present time stand at a very great distance in their ways of thinking from that which the true faith requires. They use magical arts; they are closely wrapt in various superstitions; they seek advice from fortune-tellers; they are in error as to the majority of the articles of faith. If there is much acute disputation against all this in the schools, of what avail is it to those, who, remote from such places, hear nothing of all this, those whom no theologians ever come to instruct? Is not the physician who, after having learned the art, visits and heals the sick, more useful than he who never exercises the art, but only disputes in the schools?"† The cause, however, of the neglect of preaching, and the cause of the bad preaching in his own time, he finds in the false treatment of theology, as merely a matter of the understanding and not a matter of the heart; in the dislike of the study of the Bible, in the one-sided scholastic tendency, in the fact that such a theology was pursued as could neither fill the heart with zeal for the preacher's office, nor render one qualified for its performance. He says—"We see most school-theolo-

* P. 478.

† P. 479.

gians at the present time attributing so little weight to proofs drawn from the Scriptures, that they deride a proof grounded on such authority, as indicating a sluggish intellect, or want of acuteness; as if that were of more weight, which is excogitated by human invention, than what God had revealed from heaven. After citing the words in 2 Tim. iii. 16, he says: "Of little profit to that end are the things in which the majority exercise themselves at the present day; things which may indeed, in some way or other, serve to sharpen the intellect, but can neither warm the heart, kindle emotion in the soul, nor supply it with any nourishment, but leave it cold, hard, and withered."* Hence it is that they are so indolent in discharging the preacher's office. They have never learned the science which ministers thereto. *This* is the true knowledge after which every theologian should strive, knowledge which not only informs the understanding, but at the same time takes hold on the affections."† He compares the theology of his time to the apples of Sodom, which, seen from without, appeared fair, but within were only dust and ashes. Accordingly, such a theology could never still the cravings of the spirit, however acute and ingenious it might appear. He calls upon his friend to study, in particular, the church fathers; but to regard these as only the rivulets, leading back to the fountain-head of the holy Scriptures themselves. He already lays down the principle, that, in matters of religion, nothing should be asserted which could not be proved out of the sacred Scriptures, where, by rightly searching, one would find everything necessary to be known in order to salvation.‡

The predictions uttered by Clemangis, in his book De

* Ad quæ illa sunt parum utilia, in quibus hodie plurimi exercentur, quæ licet intellectum utcumque acuant, nullo tamen igne succendunt affectum, nullo motu excitant, nullo alimento pascunt, sed frigidum, torpentem, aridum relinquunt. P. 476.

† Illa est vera scientia, quæ theologum decet, quamque omnis debet theologus expetere, quæ non modo intellectum instruat, sed infundat simul atque imbuat affectum. Ibid.

‡ Quoniam in his quæ divina sunt, nihil debemus temere definire, nisi ex celestibus possit oraculis approbari: quæ divinitus enuntiata de his, quæ scitu de deo sunt necessaria, aut ad salutem opportuna, si diligentur investigarentur, nos sufficienter instruunt. Ibid.

Ruina Ecclesiæ, about the fruitless character of the means by which it was attempted to do away the schism, were more and more verified every day. The university of Paris issued a letter to pope Benedict soon after his accession to office, calling upon him in the most pressing manner to set forward the cause of the union without any procrastination. He ought not to delay even for a moment. If he waited but a day, another would soon be added, and so the whole thing would pass into forgetfulness. Flatterers would come: men who, under the guise of friendship, instilled the deadliest poison—men, ambitious for dignities; eager aspirants for promotions and benefices; all the courtiers who did homage to the power of the moment: and if to such he opened his ears, they would be ever drawing him farther and farther from this matter. United with all this would be the sweet custom of honour, best fitted of all things to entice and deceive him, as it had done with many, especially in these times. He had the latest example of this in his predecessor, who had by it alone been led to adhere so obstinately to the opinion he had once adopted. But if Benedict should advert to the fact, that all did not depend on him, that there was something incumbent also on the other pope, it was maintained, on the other hand, that without the least doubt everything depended on his doing his own duty; and the other might be left to do the same, or, if he did not do it, he must inevitably make the wickedness of his course evident to all. The pope returned to this letter of the university an answer couched in the most general terms, expressing his earnest desire of promoting the unity of the church, but at the same time excusing himself on the plea that all did not depend on him alone, and that he felt himself pledged to nothing.

To explain the fact, how the popes could for so long a time disappoint the earnest desires of all the well-disposed for the restoration of church-unity, and for a renovation of the church, now so deeply depressed, and to understand rightly the fluctuating, uncertain character of the negotiations entered into with them, we should have distinctly before our minds the relation of the parties by which they were influenced. As usually happens in passing from an old state of things to a new, three parties had sprung up:

one, which was utterly unable to rid itself of the principles of the mediæval ecclesiastical law, and of papal absolutism, and which ever eyed with suspicion all attempts to set another authority as judge over the pope ; a second, which was disposed to carry out against the pope with reckless violence, and without sparing, the principles of the new ecclesiastical law now in the process of formation, according to which the popes should be subject to the control of general councils,—a party inclined to radical revolution ; and the more prudent and moderate advocates of the new system, of the new liberty of the church, at whose head stood men like D'Ailly and Gerson. The French church itself, which laboured most zealously for the removal of the schism, and the reform of the church, was divided into these three parties, and their own contentions with each other promoted the interests of pope Benedict, who possessed far more self-reliance and craft than his predecessors, and the popes of the other party, and who seems to have understood how to exercise a certain power over the minds of others. Opposed to the free spirit of the university of Paris was the tendency and bent of the university at Toulouse, which was still fast entangled in the old system. But in the university of Paris itself, those two parties—the party inclined to radical measures, and the more moderate one—could not come to any agreement. The one wanted from the first to put an end to the crafty intrigues of Benedict, and with the aid of the secular power to break up his rule. They would go the length of renouncing ecclesiastical obedience to him, thus compelling him to resign. A welcome thing to them it would be if the French church should for once subsist without a pope and govern itself. It might doubtless be the case also that, with many, worldly interests mixed in. The more prudent party dreaded a movement which, once set agoing, might lead farther than was at first proposed. With the theological faculty the considerations of mildness and forbearance had the most weight ; but they easily yielded to the preponderance of the other faculties. Gerson, by his character and his principles, was no less violent in his opposition to all that appeared to him revolutionary in the evolution of the church, than he was to all slavish dependence of the church upon the popes, and the mean

course, which appeared to him the only right one between the two extremes, he was for thrusting upon all. It might appear surprising, that the already-mentioned Nicholas of Clemangis, the organ through whom the Paris university expressed its earlier free-spoken declarations against the pope, who, for freedom of mind stood far above all the Parisian theologians, and had ventured to break through the common limits of the Parisian theology, should not in this case, however, be at all satisfied with the bolder party which stood forth against pope Benedict. But for the very reason that he saw so deeply into the corruption of the church and its causes, he could not indulge the hopes by which others allowed themselves to be deceived. He was convinced, from the beginning, that something else must be relied on than human wisdom ; that help was to be expected for the church from God alone. He feared that by all the attempts to cure, the evil might only be made worse. He was perfectly satisfied with neither one of the parties. In those who stood forth with the most freedom and boldness, he missed a pure and single interest for the well-being of the church ; he believed that he saw selfish motives. He beheld little else but the contest of passions ; he did not find the wisdom and calm collectedness that grew out of cool persuasion, by which alone the rightful cause could be ascertained. The conduct of Benedict's enemies appeared to him indelicate, passionate, and unforbearing. He failed of seeing in it the respect which was due to the head of the church. Although in his theological tendency he was otherwise more free than the rest of the Parisian theologians, and not trammelled by the fetters of scholasticism, yet he could not so easily as many others set himself beyond all respect for the papal office. He feared an indevout tendency, striving to break loose from the head of the church. He saw arbitrary will and a licentious freedom already spreading far and wide, in lieu of discipline and good order. He feared that in place of dependence on the popes, in whom he would by no means approve of the abuse of power, would be substituted a still more corrupting dependence on princes and courts. In view of such dangers as these which seemed to him to threaten the course of the party which proposed to break loose from pope Benedict, he

was from conviction an opponent of those violent steps against him. Add to this, that Clemangis could not in particular place the least confidence in those hopes which were built on the declaration of neutrality by France. He believed that by this divisions only would arise in their own party, and that the opposite elements, instead of being enfeebled, would gain strength. Neither would the abdication of pope Benedict be of any use unless the other pope should resolve to do likewise, or his party were disposed to force him to it. Thus he feared that by division among themselves, and consequent weakness, the other party would only become more confirmed and more haughty, while no issue would be reached. These considerations made him from the beginning and ever after an opponent of the proposed renunciation of pope Benedict, and he held his position to the last, when *his* voice could no longer be heard against so many others, and what he would have prevented if he could, was still carried through. The consequences that ensued justified the views which had been expressed by him. Add to this, that Benedict, personally, had made a favourable impression on him. He was inclined to excuse the steps he had taken; he gave him credit for more interest in the welfare of the church than others did. He always carefully abstained from flattering the pope; he reminded him in the strongest language of his duty to the church. When the pope entered upon his office, Clemangis wrote him a letter upon that occasion, in 1394, explaining to him the point of view, such as we have already described it, under which he himself regarded the relations of the church at that time. "Far be from me," he wrote, "any wish to flatter the pope, as from my early youth this worst of pests, which commits such frightful ravages on all common interests, has ever been to me an abomination. Plenty of those will appear before you, who, unused to speak the truth, and inflamed by a blind desire of benefices, will endeavour to flatter your ears with deceitful words. Would to God there were even but a few still left, fair and friendly enough to tell you the truth which engenders hatred, which is unwelcome to the multitude, though welcome, as I hope, to your heart! I confess, that at the present moment, so far as in me lies, I am of this number, and so shall remain, should I address

you any other letter in the future. I come not to petition you for benefices, not to speak to you about any interests of my own, but of yours. And with good truth may I call that *your* interest, which is the interest of the whole church, the guidance and administration of which God has now set before you." After reminding the pope of the compass and extent of his duties growing out of this relation of his to the church, he adds: "It will, however, be required of you from the Lord, whose vicar you are, to give an account of so much the more, as you and your predecessors have taken on your shoulders, of your own will, additional burdens besides what were long ago imposed on you by the Lord and the church; as you by setting aside the custom of election to the bishoprics and other church dignities, and by taking away from all patrons the right of collation, have made the distribution of ecclesiastical offices, in all the grades, dependent on your will. Whether this was for your happiness, you must judge for yourself; but whether it serve for the well-being of the church, is a question the discussion of which would occupy too much space for a letter." From these words it is easy to see—what accords with other declarations of Clemangis—that he, like the other men of the Paris university who favoured reform, considered some limitation of the papal power, which had brought everything within its vortex—a limitation of this power in the guidance of the church—as a thing calculated to promote the interest of the pope, by freeing him from responsibilities which he was in no condition to meet, as well as the good of the church itself. How important an object it seemed in his own mind, that the pope should be placed in contact with noble and free-hearted men appears from the fact that he particularly recommended to him in this letter, Pierre d'Ailly, then chancellor of the university of Paris. He describes him as a man greatly distinguished by his knowledge, his character, and his zeal for the unity of the church; a man, whose virtues had drawn upon him the hatred of many.* We will here mention, by the way, an incident characteristic of Clemangis and his relations to Avignon. He had sent this letter to his friends at the

* Ep. 2. Nic. de Clemangis, Opp. ed. Lydius, Epp. pp. 6—10.

court in Avignon, requesting them to place it in the hands of the pope: but these friends had found it necessary to expunge many parts of it. The letter appeared to them too bold; they interpreted it as a want of respect, that he should address the pope in the singular number; the encomiums on Peter d'Ailly, whose free and noble spirit would not be likely to make him a favourite at the court of Avignon, they thought overdrawn, so they had taken the liberty to alter the letter according to their own will; for example, to leave out the whole passage where Clemangis warns the pope against flattery, since even this seemed to them hardly consistent with the respect due to the pope. As a matter of course, the letter, as Clemangis complains, was robbed, by these arbitrary omissions and alterations, of its true meaning. Now, had they presented the letter in this mutilated form, they might thus at least have shown their good intentions towards their friend; but by putting, as they did, the mutilated letter into the pope's hands along with the original, they may only have intended by such a course to shield themselves from any charge of disrespect towards the pope in transmitting to him so bold a letter, or they may, as Clemangis suspected, have intended to make the writer himself appear in an unfavourable light. At any rate they must have been much more intent on their own interest than on that of their friend. Clemangis bitterly blames this proceeding of his friends. "It is the pernicious distemper of these times," he says, "and particularly of the place you live in, Avignon, to suppose that truth cannot please unless it appears decked out in ornaments and concealed by flattery; that if it be presented naked and with freedom, it must offend everybody and stir up against it anger or ridicule. No wonder, then, that you have contracted a taint from the customs of the place and the time."* At all events, that solicitude of theirs was unfounded; and if they proposed to themselves any such object as those just mentioned, they were disappointed. Benedict could not have been displeased with Clemangis for speaking so freely. This honest freedom probably led him to entertain a still greater liking for the writer. Benedict succeeded in per-

* Ep. 3. p. 12.

suading Clemangis to enter into his own service, thereby gaining the double advantage of depriving the alliance of the more liberal parties at Paris of the talents of so good a man, and of turning these talents to the benefit of his own cause. Through the mediation of the friends of Clemangis at Avignon, the latter was induced to accept the office of papal secretary.

Doubtless the pope, who was observant of the change taking place in the culture of the times, wished to secure the better style of Clemangis, which corresponded to the more refined taste now beginning to prevail, for his correspondence and public declarations; and the consideration which Clemangis offers as a reason why he could not be fitted for such an office, namely, that he could not alter his habit of writing into a common chancery style, may have been, in the view of the pope, an additional reason for wishing him to become his secretary. Hence, when Clemangis mentioned this difficulty, the pope simply requested him to retain the style to which he was accustomed. Clemangis, by personal inclination, had no particular fondness for the curial service, or the life at court. He had already declined many offers of the same kind, which had been held out to him by princes. He could not but have many objections therefore to make, at first, to this new proposal;—his habits of freedom, his disinclination to the court-life, his physical weakness, and incapacity to endure any great degree of labour. But the pope bade his friends reply that he should lose none of his freedom, but rather obtain more than he had before; that in the labours imposed on him due regard should ever be had to his ability and his inclination. So Clemangis determined to accept the place, and his further acquaintance with the court at Avignon, instead of producing any change in his feelings towards Benedict, seems rather to have confirmed him in his first good opinion of the pope, and in the friendly regards which he had for him.* He says of the court at Avignon: "While I would not say that it is free from all vices, I must still own that there was greater

* Ep. 14, p. 57.

decency of behaviour, more dignity and self-respect in outward manners, than I have ever witnessed in the courts of secular princes." Certainly, we must regard this as a singular statement, if we compare it with the picture which Petrarch in his letters has drawn of the court at Avignon; yet from the language of Clemangis himself, it may be gathered that the court at Avignon was not of the character which might be expected from the attendants on a pope. He speaks only by way of comparison; and thus much at least may be true, that Benedict was favourably distinguished in this respect from several of his predecessors, and endeavoured to give a corresponding dignity of manners* to his court.† In the next place, it is clear, from what Clemangis himself says respecting his relations at Avignon, that the pope, by the indulgence with which he treated him, took a strong hold on his affections and bound him to gratitude.‡ No labour was imposed on him, until he was first consulted whether it was agreeable to him; and if he had scruples about engaging in a matter of business, because it stood in some collision with his French interests, regard was had to these scruples.§ Thus, with Clemangis, his personal regard for Benedict went with the opinion he had formed respecting the condition of the church, to determine his course of action under these circumstances. Let us listen to his own language. How profoundly he understood the corruption of the church in his times, we see from some

* Ep. 14, p. 57.

† Also Theodoric of Niem, papal chamberlain at the Roman court, says of Benedict: *Præterea licet dictus Petrus de Luna gravitatem pontificalis officii et quid ageret ipso Bonifacio longe melius intelligeret.* *De Schism.* 2, c. 33.

‡ Epist. 14. He boasts particularly of the care with which he was treated during a sickness at Avignon.

§ In the 42nd letter he cites a case, where two cardinals had proposed to him in the name of the pope to draw up a writing in favour of a man who had been condemned by the parliament of Paris. He had urgently entreated that he might be let off from this because he could do nothing to the prejudice of his king and country. One of the cardinals consented, but the other threatened him by saying the pope would command it. "Well," said Clemangis, "I would prefer leaving the pope's service." From that moment not a word more was ever heard on the subject. P. 130.

remarks of his in a letter to a friend. He supposed that he witnessed in his times a greater depravation of manners than had existed in any pagan period, and that this could not be so, if even but a dead faith, a *fides informis*, still existed. "Not love alone," says he, "but the mere *fides informis* among us has become so withered, that the words of our Lord would fitly apply to our times: Shall I, when I come, find faith on the earth?" He thinks that vice could not so unblushingly stalk abroad, if the doctrines of an eternal life, of future happiness and misery, of a future judgment, really found faith among men. "The articles of faith," says he, "are accounted but fables." He thought, too, that in this dead faith might already be discerned a turning over to conscious infidelity.* What he says of the general state of things in France,† that the depravation of morals in that country was the fountain of all other evils, and that reconciliation with God must prepare the way for the restoration of civil peace, all this is, without doubt, to be applied also, as *he* means it, to the evils of the church of his time, and to the means for their cure. "What sort of good," says he, "can we hope for, if we remain separated from the true source of all good? Out of what inferior stream can a blessing flow to us, if we are cut off from the fountain-head of all blessing?" Accordingly he declares that the great thing needed was reconciliation to God. And because *this* was the *great* need, everything else, which was undertaken with passionate party-zeal for the restoration of peace to the church, appeared to him vain. In a letter of later date addressed to pope Benedict,‡ he says: "Not without some peril to myself have I written a great deal to you and others about the adjustment of this hateful schism; for I was careful to exhort all who engaged in this holy work, according to the measure of my knowledge, to see to it, that they set themselves about so great a matter, than which a greater has not been undertaken within the memory of man, in the right manner, with a pure heart, with disinterested zeal, with true charity, and with becoming modesty; not with arrogant pride,

* Ep. 73, p. 210. † Ep. 77, p. 233. ‡ Ep. 13, p. 51.

not with an over-hasty confidence in the truth of their own opinions, not with selfish longings after temporal honour, or temporal advantage, not with zeal merely to accomplish their own objects, not with hatred or ill-will towards any person whatever, not with suspicious jealousy, or persecution of those who think differently." He thought the contrary of all this, then, might be seen in the doings of the several parties of his times, as he himself says: "All this, or most of what has mingled in the proceedings in the course which this affair has taken, disturbs it frightfully and ruins it altogether. By these means, the situation of things is not only rendered wholly unsuitable for the restoration of peace; but commotions still more violent, wounds still more severe, and the germs of new divisions are brought upon the church, which suffers grievously enough already from this wound; and unless the grace of the heavenly bridegroom interfere, she must plunge into the gulf of destruction." With this agrees also what he wrote to the king of France, when the renunciation of pope Benedict had now lasted four years.* "You see what the refusal of obedience, sought after with so much eagerness, has availed. It was said, respect and obedience to the pope was the chief obstacle in the way of restoring unity to the church; and if this were removed, peace would speedily ensue. This the whole body of the clergy asserted with the greatest vociferation. Behold, this obstacle has now been for four years removed, by subtraction of obedience to the pope; and still we perceive no signs of church union. Nay, the hopes formerly cherished have either wholly vanished, or at least their fulfilment is put off to an incalculable distance. It was promised, as a thing which would most certainly take place, that as soon as men heard of the subtraction by this kingdom, other states would immediately follow her example." "When this most inauspicious subtraction,"† says he, "had been extorted from you by these intrigues, messengers were sent out in all directions, either those who had themselves been concerned in bringing about the

* Ep. 17, p. 63.

† Infaustissima obedientiæ subtractio.

subtraction,* or those whom they pleased to select for this purpose." Everything was done to spread the report of this proceeding far and wide, and to stir up others to imitation. "Behold," he then adds, "who follows your example? All hold back, and not without good reason, from subtracting obedience to him whom they revered as Christ's viceregent upon earth." It appears to him a great inconsistency, to refuse the obedience due to him who has been recognised as the legitimate pope. He notices it, again, as a remarkable fact, that the other princes, instead of being induced to follow the example of France, had rather attached themselves with a more persevering devotion to the acknowledged pope. He says, in particular, of the other party: "They are successively elated against us, ever since they heard that we are so divided amongst ourselves about our own pope; and they are expecting no other result from these quarrels among themselves, than that after we have deserted our pope, theirs will obtain the victory." He complains in this letter of the harsh treatment of the pope in keeping him closely shut up in his castle. He laments that nothing more was now done for the restoration of unity, but men were only on the anxious look-out to defeat any attempt to effect a reconciliation with the pope; that no one was allowed to visit him, without first undergoing a thorough search to see that he carried no letters. Now, since it was manifest that the renunciation of the pope did not in the least contribute to the restoration of peace to the church, while they still persisted, however, in venting their rage on him, it might be seen, that under the pretext of seeking the peace of the church, their real object had been, from the beginning, enmity to the pope's person. He defended the pope's conduct, and maintained that from the first he had declared himself ready to enter into conference with his antagonist, the first step necessary to any agreement; and to adopt any other means which could lead to the restoration of church unity; that he had, in fact, three years before declared himself willing to abdicate.† "Of

* Ipsimet subtractionis artifices.

† P. 65.

what use was it," he said, "to think of forcing the pope to abdicate, when it meant nothing except as a free act?" It was presupposed, therefore, that the pope should first be restored to liberty. He held that the most necessary thing, after restoring the pope to liberty, was the restoration of unity in their own party; then they should endeavour to unite on some measures to be taken in common with the other party. It was not by strife, by revilings, and the turmoil of the passions, that a restoration of church unity in any form was to be expected; but a negotiation for peace should be conducted in a peaceful and quiet way, and in a spirit of gentleness. All pains should be taken to pursue the object with a humble, sober distrust, each man of his own judgment, and not with proud contempt of what others might think on the subject. "For the Lord often reveals his mysteries and his counsels, among which seem to belong also the restoration of unity to his church, to babes and sucklings, while he hides them from the wise and prudent, that no flesh may glory in his presence." In his letter to pope Benedict XIII.,* where, too, he complains of the impure motives of men anxious only to have their own opinion prevail with regard to the best way of restoring the peace of the church, he expresses his surprise that learned theologians—men of the church—could consent to abandon everything to the arbitrary will of the secular power; he foresees the mischievous consequences which must result from such a course. The experiences to which Clemangis adverts had influence, also, on others who had expected more than he had ever done from that renunciation of the pope; and now, when Benedict, set at large from his closely-invested castle by the aid of an Arragonese nobleman, re-opened on a more free footing the negotiations with France, it was more easy to come to an agreement; and in the year 1404, a partial return took place of the Gallic church to the obedience of the pope, the latter having pledged himself to resign the papal dignity under the three following contingencies, that the other pope died, that he voluntarily resigned, or that he was deposed.

* Epist. 13, p. 51.

When, in the year 1406, pope Innocent VII. died at Rome, the cardinals of that party were full of zeal to bring the church back to unity. Among the people there was but *one* wish, which could not longer be resisted. They were weary of the long-continued artful tricks, by which the popes of the two parties had contrived to keep up the schism. The question now arose among the cardinals whether they ought not to abstain from a new election, and unite with the other party at Avignon, for the purpose of choosing a pope who should be universally acknowledged, inasmuch as Benedict had been compelled to agree that in case of the death of his antagonist in Rome, he also would immediately abdicate. Thus an end would be put to the schism at once. It could not but be very evident to all, that it was only by declining to investigate the claims of the two parties, that any union was possible. Thus wrote the well-known Leonardo Bruno of Arezzo (Aretin), famous as one of the restorers of ancient literature, and at this time secretary to the papal court at Rome, in a report which he drew up relating to the events at that time in Rome. "We can expect no end to the division as long as men are disposed to quarrel about their rights, especially as this matter has no judge but God himself."* Among the cardinals there was much contention on the point; and they would have resolved to abstain from the new election, had they not been afraid that they should give up something to the claims of the other party, or had they not felt a certain mistrust, not altogether unfounded, in the sincerity of pope Benedict. Accordingly the resolution prevailed that they should proceed to a new election, but that each of the cardinals should bind himself by oath, in a more solemn manner than before, that, in case of his election to the papal dignity, he would employ it singly for the purpose of healing the schism; that he would use every effort to effect a union for the promotion of this object with the other pope, and abdicate as soon as the latter would do likewise. Each cardinal pledged himself, moreover, that, in case he should be elected

* Neque enim finem ullum inveterati schismatis sperare licebat, si de jure disceptaretur; præsertim cum præter deum ea causa judicem nullum haberet. Leon. Bruni Aretin. Epp. 1, 2, 3. Hamb. 1724. 8vo.

pope, he would undertake to do nothing except what was required for that end, would nominate no new cardinals except when this was necessary in order that the number of the cardinals belonging to this party might be equal to that of the other. Since the cardinals, then, regarded the present election as only a provisional one, only a means to prepare the way for electing a pope who should be recognised as such by all, and for the utter extirpation of the schism, they directed their attention in choosing a candidate, not so much to any question about his other gifts and qualifications, as to the point of gaining in him a man free from ambition and the love of power, and full of zeal for the welfare and concord of the church. Great zeal for these objects had been manifested thus far by cardinal Angelo Coravio of Venice, a man celebrated for his habits of austere devotion; and as he was eighty years old, it was the less to be expected that, standing on the verge of the grave, he would sacrifice the good of the church to the gratification of his ambition for a few brief moments. He called himself Gregory XII. After his accession to office he repeated the same assurances which he had already expressed as a cardinal. What expectations were formed of him, may be seen from the following words of Aretin, written about this time, who describes him as a man of antique severity and holiness. "He talks of the unity of the church," says Aretin, "after this style; that if there were no other way, he would go on foot, staff in hand, to bring it about. We must look to his *actions*; and certainly there is good hope, on account of the singular integrity of the man. More than this, we find on the question of union, such an agreement of feeling among all, and the expectations of all so intensely raised, that if he were disposed to delay, they would in no wise permit it."* It is plain, from these words of Aretin, that however strong the reasons might seem to be for trusting Gregory, still the disappointments which had been so often experienced created a feeling of uncertainty.

According to another eye-witness, the pontifical chamberlain, Theodoric of Niem, a German, the pope professed to his confidential friends, that it should be no fault of his,

* Aretin. Epp. 1, 2, 3.

if the union were not brought about, in some place or other, even though it should be far from Rome. If he could not have galleys, he was ready to set sail in a small skiff; or if the way were better by land, and he had no carriage and horses, he would not be kept back by that, but plod his way on foot, staff in hand.* When Gregory held the first assembly of his cardinals, he still expressed openly the same zeal for the restoration of peace to the church. Some months after, on being requested to bestow certain benefices, he declined, observing that he had not been chosen pope *for that*, but simply to put an end to the schism; and so great was the longing after this, that the people of the Roman court, whose interests were touched by such a repulsive answer, still rejoiced at it, because they regarded it as a sure pledge that the pope was in earnest about that which was so often on his lips. In making known his resolution by embassies to all the princes, he entered with great zeal into negotiations also with pope Benedict, who was bound by his solemn promise; and still had to fear a powerful party of free-spirited men in France, particularly at the university of Paris. The envoys of Gregory conferred with Benedict at Marseilles, where they mutually agreed that the city of Savona was the most eligible place, on account of its situation, for a meeting and conference between the two popes; and that they should both repair thither on Michaelmas or All Saints' Day, 1407, for the purpose of abdicating in common.† At Paris the delegates of Gregory, on returning with this agreement, were received with great demonstrations of joy. It seemed now that the long-desired end of the schism could not be far off. Gregory was extolled as an angel of peace. Only Benedict could not be trusted. When the contract, overladen with provisos, and drawn up by Benedict, was placed before Gregory, with a smile on his lips, he expressed surprise that so many stipulations had been thought necessary, of which not one was needed here, since everything was so honourably meant.‡ Perhaps Gregory, at the beginning, was really of the temper which he expressed; but of a

* Theodorici a Niem, De Schismate, l. 3, c. 6.

† L. 3, c. 12, fin.

‡ L. 3, c. 13.

truth that temper was soon changed, and what may at first have been so honourably meant, was afterwards but the language of disguise and hypocrisy. Gregory's numerous relations came together in Rome; and there they endeavoured to turn his papal dignity to their own private advantage. They worked upon Gregory, till they made him alter his mind, and consent to sacrifice the good of the church to the interests of the nephews whom he ought to provide for. Already in April, 1407, Aretin wrote: "Some friends and kinsmen of the pope, who flocked around him upon his coming to the throne, have begotten in many the suspicion, that they are endeavouring to bend his hitherto upright will."* In addition to this came the political movements of king Ladislaus of Naples, who, in opposition to French interests, was endeavouring to obtain for himself the crown of Sicily, against the pretensions of prince Louis of Angers, and wished to secure Gregory as an ally, having reason to fear a pope favourable to the interests of France. He must do everything, therefore, to prevent Gregory from resigning his post. In June, the pope appeared before the cardinals and other dignitaries, and openly avowed his purpose, hitherto only to be conjectured from occasional signs: for, although he had agreed with his rival, that they should both join in a common abdication at Savona, yet he was now only looking round for some way of escape. He declared that he had no means for making the journey by land, and that he could not venture to go by sea on board the ships of the Genoese, on account of the hostilities between the Genoese and the Venetians; that he must by all means have Venetian galleys, but he could not obtain them to proceed so far as that port. The cardinals being very much dissatisfied with the pope, and proceeding to urge upon him the fulfilment of his agreement, he caused his difficulties to be laid before twenty-four eminent jurists, in the expectation that his known wishes would determine them to pronounce him free from the obligation. But he found himself mistaken. Still he could not even then be induced to alter his intentions. He pretended that those jurists had been influenced

* Aretin. Epp. 1. 2, 6.

by their regard for the cardinals, to decide contrary to the truth.*

During these transactions, an event took place which seemed calculated to deliver the pope from his embarrassment, and furnish him with a good reason for not keeping his word. King Ladislaus of Naples, in combination with the Colonna party in Rome, accompanied by the malcontents from the city, was approaching with a hostile force. Aretin says, that the pope declared at first that all reports about this had been got up by malicious persons; but the opponents of the pope perceived, when the truth turned out to be like the report, that what he had said was a mere pretence, and accused him of a secret understanding with that ally. The unexpected attack made by these troops at midnight, excited in Rome the utmost alarm and confusion. The pope took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. The stratagem, however, was defeated. The Romans succeeded in expelling the enemy from the city. After this incident, Aretin wrote: "Many believe that this thing was purposely arranged by the pope, in order that the whole business of uniting the church might fall through, which would have been the issue, had the king been successful. We by no means believe this of *the pope*, but we have no doubt of the guilt of *his kinsmen*."† The honest, free-spirited German historian, Theodoric of Niem, also an eyewitness, looks upon the whole as a plot of Gregory, hatched up to defeat the negotiations for peace. Speaking of the pope's flight to the castle of St. Angelo, he says: "This he did from design, and with the intent that if the enemy got the upper hand, and proceeded to besiege him in that castle, he might have it to plead as an excuse for his non-appearance at the first and second terms that he was deprived of his liberty."

And he concludes his account of the results brought about by the understanding which, as he supposes, existed between the two allies, who were bound together by a common political interest, with the beautiful words so often verified in history with regard to events by which great and important changes are supposed to be prepared: "But

* Theod. a Niem, l. 3, c. 17.

† Aretin. Epp. l. 2, 7.

man's craft avails nothing in opposition to the divine counsels."*

In proportion as the crafty pope Benedict found that his rival had no serious intention of fulfilling the agreement, in the same proportion he manifested the utmost readiness to fulfil it faithfully on his part, as he could plainly foresee, that nothing would come of it, and he now had it in his power to throw the whole blame on Gregory. At the first-appointed time he came to Savona. But Gregory travelled slowly; first to Viterbo. Then, in September, he came to Siena; but instead of getting to Savona, either at the first or the second term, he remained at Siena from September to January. He had great skill in inventing reasons for not complying with the invitations of the cardinals, and of the envoys coming to him from all directions for the purpose of urging him to end the schism. There was no route which for him would be a safe one. He got up processions to implore divine grace for the promotion of the peace of the church; granted indulgences to such as took part in them; sent letters of indulgence to those in all the countries that acknowledged him, who by their intercessions helped on the restoration of peace to the church, hoping thus to deceive the multitude. The Franciscans who were his friends, found it necessary at mass to justify the procrastination of the pope in their sermons, and to tell the people that he could not make the journey to Savona without exposing himself and the cardinals to danger. Finally the pope arrived at Lucca. From this place Aretin wrote a letter relating to the negotiations for peace: "After we had arrived at Lucca, numerous messengers passed to and fro; but nothing is as yet accomplished, nor has a single step been taken which seems to me calculated to inspire the least hope. In the other pope there is no honesty of purpose whatsoever; though he disguises his motives with wonderful adroitness, so as to deceive the unwary. But believe me, there is nothing sound about him; for if there were, what is there to prevent the object from being accomplished? For if either one of the two were really willing to do what

* Sed contra divinam ordinationem astutia non suffragatur humana.
L 3, c. 18, fin.

he has sworn to do, the other would be obliged to fulfil his part whether willing or not willing. For what excuse or evasion could he have? But now when both delay, one furnishes the other with means of evasion and excuse. Our pope is of a straightforward, simple nature; but a good and simple man is easily deceived by dishonest knaves. For some who are hoping to obtain honourable posts from him have contrived to get hold of him by flattery. These fill his mind with idle fears, and often bring him round again when he intends to do what is right. As the present tone of feeling is, I apprehend trouble; for more acrimony of hatred, more violent indignation could not exist."* We see from these words, dictated by the immediate impression of the moment, the high state of excitement produced among the attendants on the pope at Lucca by these underhanded arts, and the fears that were entertained that some violent outbreak would give vent to the suppressed feelings of indignation. And so it happened, that in the middle of the fasts a Carmelite, preaching before the pope, the cardinals, and the foreign envoys assembled here on the business of the union, felt impelled, turning round to the pope, to exhort him urgently that he would spare no effort to hasten the union, reminding him of the assurances which he had so repeatedly given. Two nephews of the pope, who had great influence with him, were so exasperated at this, that they caused the preacher to be dragged out of the church and cast into prison, where he languished for many days, and a worse fate would have befallen him had not powerful friends interposed in his behalf. He was forbidden to preach any more; and Gregory, to secure himself for the future against being disturbed by such honest admonitions, ordered that no person should thereafter be allowed to preach before him, unless his discourse had first been examined by some one of his immediate attendants.† The pope was in no want of men, such as his nephews, whose selfish interests would naturally prompt them to confirm him in his designs against the union. Among these, belonged, in particular, one of those individuals whose lives afford the most striking testimony to the monstrous corrup-

* Aretin. Epp. l. 2, 10. † Theod. a Niem, De Schism. lib. 3, c. 15.

tion of the church of this time,—a Franciscan who, sunk in crime, had been led by some outward occasion or other, in the later years of his manhood, to become a monk, and whom king Ladislaus employed on his political errands, and called his father confessor. Through him, the king had carried on his negotiations with pope Gregory, and the latter always kept him near his person. Theodoric of Niem relates, that a citizen of Lucca with whom this Franciscan resided while the pope was stopping at that city, told him he never met anywhere with so bad a man, nor would he suffer him to remain in his house, were he not compelled to do so by fear of the governing authorities in Lucca.* The two popes approached a few steps nearer together; for when Gregory arrived at Lucca, Benedict advanced to Porto Venere. And yet it seemed as if they were never to meet. In vain negotiations were entered into respecting a place of interview, with which both parties could be satisfied. None was to be found safe enough for both. Gregory feared the hostile power at sea, and dared not approach too near the coast. Benedict could not venture too far from the coast, as he stood in fear of ambuscades by land. Aretin, an eye-witness of these evasive tricks, writes: "Thus, one of the popes, like a marine animal, was afraid to trust himself on dry land, the other, like a land animal, shuddered at sight of the waves."† But what added to the vexation was this, that according to the common belief there was no danger, either to the one if he ventured on dry land, nor to the other if he visited the coast. And it was the general opinion, that they both clearly understood the same thing, but hypocritically pretended fear, for the purpose of cheating men out of their earnest expectations. Hence there were loud complaints, and men began already to speak openly against these proceedings. All were filled with indignation, that persons of their age—for both were past seventy—for the sake of sitting a few years in the papal chair, should put themselves beyond all fear of God and the judgment of mankind. Aretin takes notice of the impression which this conduct of the two popes produced on the

* Theod. a Niem, *De Schism.* lib. 3, c. 15.

† Ita alter quasi aquaticum animal in siccum exire, alter quasi terrestre undas aspicere perhorrebat. Aretin. *Epp.* lib. 2, 13.

general mind. "What," says he, "could happen to us more shameful and more dishonourable than that the two parties, after having shortly before voluntarily fixed upon a place for the restoration of union among Christians, should immediately thereupon, when the expectations of all were intensely raised, show an unwillingness to come to the spot? Some one may say, Dost thou venture to write this, when thou belongest among the pope's confidants? Yes. The case is so; for why should I now flatter him, and feign as if I thought otherwise, for I am one of the Christians and one of the Italians? It grieves me that the former should be defrauded of the union and of peace, and the latter accused of being faithless, and promise-breakers."*

Gregory at length gave it to be understood, that he no longer had any thoughts of joining with his rival in a common abdication. He made trial of other arts. He put forth, on the 6th of July, the proclamation for a general council, whose place of assembling he would more distinctly announce. As a reason for this he alleged the experience which had been gained, that a common abdication was a thing impracticable; the council, however, included in itself all other means of restoring church concord. At the same time he asserted, in defiance of the freer tendencies now springing up, that it belonged to the pope alone to convoke a general council; that one assembled without his permission was but a *conciliabulum*, and should be considered as altogether destitute of authority.† This council was at a later period actually assembled at Aquileia, but could do nothing more than play an insignificant farce. The cardinals were not inclined to let themselves be mocked any longer by the pope; to share the disgrace and the exasperated feeling which he must necessarily encounter. Matters were coming to an open contest between them and the pope. Gregory, unmindful of the oath which he had taken, was desirous of appointing four new cardinals, partly for the purpose of promoting his nephews and favourites, partly that he might procure for himself, in these creatures, some support against the older cardinals; but the latter manifested violent opposition, and declined to acknowledge,

* L. c.

† Theodoric a Niem, De Schism. lib. 3, c. 36.

as their colleagues, the persons who, in spite of them, were nominated by the pope. As they had the worst to fear from the obstinate pope, and wished to act with more freedom in some other place, where they could be safer, they fled to Pisa.*

As to pope Benedict, he was made more haughty by the weakness of his rival. But he could meet with as little success as the latter in carrying out his designs. He had to sustain a still severer contest with the more liberal spirit in France. The king sent him a letter, threatening that, unless the pope came to some agreement with his opponent to restore concord to the church by the festival of Ascension of the following year, France would again renounce him and declare herself neutral. Benedict replied to this by a series of violent steps. He issued a bull threatening the ban and the interdict. This was publicly torn in pieces, and the pope, at an assembly of the university of Paris, was declared a schismatic and heretic. Proceedings were set on foot against those who had taken part in the drawing up and publication of that bull; and suspected individuals were violently persecuted. Among these was Clemangis, who continued, it is true, to be a friend of Benedict, and dissatisfied with violent measures, as also Gerson was, but who could appeal to the fact that he knew nothing at all about the steps of Benedict, and also that the bull bore internal evidence of being contrary to his style.† The Gallic church separated itself entirely from the pope. Orders were given to the French governor at Genoa to take possession of Benedict's person; but he succeeded in making his escape to his native country, Arragon; where he played off a similar farce with Gregory, in the convocation of a pretended general council. Eight cardinals of his party repaired to Pisa; and all who were there assembled, now joined in putting forth a proclamation for a *general council* in the year 1409, which should put an end to the schism and bring about a reformation of the church in its head and members, and whose place of meeting should be at Pisa.

Upon this council the eyes of all who had at heart the

* See the account of this affair in Aretin's report, Epp. lib. 2, 13.

† Clemang. Ep. 42, p. 129.

well-being of the church in western Christendom, were directed. Two great problems were to be worked out by that council, of which one could not be worked out without the other; the long and earnestly-desired restoration of concord, and the long and earnestly-desired reform of a church corrupted and stained with sin in all its parts, and deeply sunk in worldliness. Everything depended at first on the question, whether the council would proceed with clear consciousness, on the principles of a freer system of ecclesiastical law. It should be conscious that itself constituted the highest representation of the church, since it was called to pass judgment even upon popes; otherwise it must succumb to their policy, and fail as all previous attempts to do away the schism had failed. But then it was very difficult for the cardinals to emancipate themselves at once from a system of church government, which had obtained for a long series of centuries, which was interwoven into all parts of the church administration, and which upheld itself by its own consistency. It was a contest between an old period and a new one, which must break path-way for itself. The men who, with the full consciousness of knowledge, expressed and defended the spirit of the new period, thus exerting an influence on the formation of a new public opinion, had the great merit of preparing the way for a happy issue of the council of Pisa. In this, the university of Paris took the most important place; and the principal leader of the movement in this university was chancellor Gerson, a man whose influence, both as a writer and a speaker, was pre-eminently great. Let us first cast a glance, then, at the principles of reform diffused abroad by this writer prior to the commencement of the council of Pisa.

The system of the church theocracy, such as we have seen evolving itself from the times of the third century, was here by no means abandoned; but it was to be purified from the heterogeneous elements, which in the course of the middle ages had become mixed up with it, or which had proceeded from the development of the principle once expressed and steadily carried out to its extreme consequences, and to be reduced back again to its original foundation before the middle ages. The externalized con-

ception of the church, as of an organic whole, to be traced up through the succession of bishops and the representation of church unity in the Roman church as cathedra Petri to a divine origin, was held fast as one and identical with the essence of Christianity itself. But the conception of this *one universal church* was placed foremost, as the original and highest idea; and the authority of a single head of the church governance was made subordinate to this highest spiritual power, and very much lowered. Papal absolutism was to be overturned; the universal church to recover her rights, the authority of single bishops, and the independence of single national churches to be restored. Its independent authority was to be secured to the sovereignty of the state. The state was to be emancipated from the tutelage of church theocracy, which had swallowed up all authority into itself. They were essentially the same principles as those which had already, when the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals first began to claim validity, sent forth from France an influence to counteract the rising power of the popes. Gerson took his departure from a conception of the church and of its unity, which might have conducted him to a more profound and spiritual mode of apprehending the matter. The relation of the church to Christ, as its sole unconditionally necessary, invisible head, was that to which at first he gave the chief prominence. The essential unity of the church, as Christ's spiritual body, the *corpus mysticum*, reposed solely on union with him, the invisible Head, diffusing his life-giving influence through the whole. But he presently assumed, that the diffusion of this influence was conditioned on the organism of the external church governance founded by Christ himself, whereby the form was prescribed under which alone this spirit could at any time be active. Hence he considered the hierarchy in all its gradations, as a thing immutable, necessary for all times, and so the presence of a visible, ministerial, and accidental chief at the head of the church government, appeared to him to be also necessary. Still he supposes that, inasmuch as the church when the papacy is vacant again produces such a head from herself, and inasmuch as she can in certain moments subsist under the guidance of the one invisible head, without that visible head, so also she has

power to pass judgment on popes, to displace them, and may continue to subsist for a time under the guidance of a general council of bishops, which represents her, without such a visible head, although the latter as a general thing is necessary to her organism; and she must ever reproduce such a head from herself. In the case of the exercise of that supreme guidance of the church by the popes, we should distinguish what is essential from what is unessential, what is mutable from what is immutable, what is founded in divine right from what is founded in the letter of a positive law. As the good of the whole is the highest law, and it is only for that the power of the pope subsists, that power may be modified and limited by a general council, as the general good may require at any time. Hence the assembling of a general council is not a thing necessarily dependent on the pope alone. In a tract composed at some time prior to the council of Pisa,* in which he unfolds these principles, he says: "It is from Christ, the Head and bridegroom of the church, the mystical body which is the church, has her origin; and directly from him she has her power and her authority, so that she may, for the purpose of preserving her unity, cause the assembling, in a regular manner, of a general council, which represents her. This is evident from the words of Christ: Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; where, it is to be carefully observed, that he does not say in the name of Peter or of Paul, but in *my* name, thus intimating that wherever the faithful do but assemble, if this be done in *his* name, *i. e.* in faith on Christ, and for the weal of his church, he himself stands by them as an infallible guide."† He proves this, again, from the universal law of nature; for every natural body exerts a natural reaction against whatever threatens to destroy or dissolve it, and if it is an animated body, it

* Propositiones, utiles ad exterminationem præsentis schismatis per viam concilii generalis. Io. Gersonis, Opp. ed. Du Pin. Antw. 1706, tom. II. pp. 112, 113.

† Propositiones, p. 112: Dans intelligere, quod ubicunque congregantur fideles, cum hoc fiat in nomine suo, hoc est in Christi fide, et pro ecclesiæ suæ salute, ipse assistit eis tanquam director et infallibilis rector.

combines by a natural necessity all its members and powers for the preservation of its unity and to repel whatever threatens to disintegrate it; and the same holds good of every civil body politic. Accordingly the spiritual body of the church, as the best ordered, may use a similar right for the preservation of its unity and the working off of every schismatic division, as a thing whereby the original order is disturbed. At a later period, for justifiable reasons, this power of the church was so limited, that no council could be assembled without the authority of the pope. This was done for the purpose of doing honour to the apostolical chair, and of counteracting those heretics and schismatics, who sometimes endeavoured, according to their own caprice, and by the power of secular princes, to convoke councils who would countenance and uphold their errors. But by this modification in conformity to the necessities of the times, the fact was not altered, that this power, in itself considered, ever resides in the church; for that cannot be annulled by the letter of any positive law, which has its foundation in a natural and divine right; and the church therefore may, in certain cases, convoke a council without the authority of the pope: for a custom which has been introduced for the good of the church ought not to be observed to the prejudice or great peril of the same. He instances the three following cases in particular: 1, if during a vacancy of the apostolic chair, a *heresy* or another *persecution* of the church breaks out, which must be counteracted by a council: 2, if in such a case of necessity, or where the manifest interest of the church demands a council, the pope should become insane or fall into heresy, or in any other way should be unfitted for his duty, or should neglect it when invited to do it; or, thirdly, if several individuals present rival claims to the papal dignity, so that the whole church obeys neither of them, and each separately refuses to appear at the summons of one or of both together, as the case seemed to be at the present time. Gerson, in maintaining the necessity only of that one organism in the church which was to be traced to a divine origin, recognised the changes resulting from the necessities of each period in all other relations of the church; as, for example, in its relations to the state and to worldly goods; and he moreover

ascribed to the church of *his own* time, in its collective capacity, the right and the duty of undertaking such changes as the well-being of the church might peremptorily require. Here there ought to be no binding law; but the letter of every law must be subservient to the highest law, the weal of the church; human right must be subordinated to the divine. On these principles, Gerson proceeded from the first amid all the negotiations relating to the doing away of the schism, only leaning to different sides according as he thought he saw danger coming either from *positivism* pushed to an extreme, or from what appeared to him to be a revolutionary tendency plunging headlong into violent and radical measures.

Again, the merit of Gerson consisted in this, that he directed attention to the fact that the inward corruption of the church being the source of all other evil and also of the schism, no thorough and lasting cure of the church could take place without reformation; and that it ought therefore to be a main business of the council to effect this. And he himself points out in his writings and discourses on reform, several particular branches of ecclesiastical corruption in this period, which called for correction. From what he says on this subject, we are enabled to understand the very low condition to which the church had fallen. He invites the bishops to a more exact performance of church visitations. In making these, they should inform themselves of the character of the parish priests, find out whether they were familiar with the liturgical form of baptism, of the consecration of the Holy Supper, etc.; because there were many who did not understand these things; and it was plain, what great scandal and what danger grew out of it; for unless God mercifully completed what was defective, they could neither baptize nor bestow absolution; and if they were familiar with these forms, yet they pronounced them in so hasty and inappropriate a manner, that the whole rite was violated thereby. Then they should inquire, whether those priests could repeat the sins, and the articles of faith, and whatever else they ought to know in order to impart, at least, the most general instruction to the communities. It was so little thought possible to preserve strictness in the observance of the laws of priestly celibacy, that Gerson

seriously proposed it as a question worthy of mature consideration, whether priests living in concubinage must not be tolerated, as were the public prostitutes, to avoid a worse evil, which might arise if they were compelled to separate from their concubines; now that the number of those living in concubinage had become so great. Against such, the penalty of excommunication was not to be employed, because it could not be carried into effect. If the holy men of ancient times observed an opposite course, yet they had never seen the evil so deep-rooted as it had now become; and how impossible was it to apply at the present time the ancient severity of church discipline. He asks for the abrogation of ecclesiastical laws of excommunication, which could no longer be enforced; and which, so long as they continued to exist in letter, served only to disquiet the conscience. He objects to the too light use of excommunication, whereby incredible injury was done to souls, and at length contempt of all divine laws superinduced. It should be attempted to find out to what use penance-money could be applied; to ascertain where other ecclesiastical penalties would be more salutary according to the kind and magnitude of the sins committed, and whether the turning of those fines, not to pious objects, but to private emolument, did not give occasion for murmuring. When all this and the like had been inquired into, the theologian who accompanied the bishop in his visitations should preach a sermon adapted to the general intelligence of the laity, avoiding curious questions, and touching only upon such matters as might serve for the improvement of manners and for edification; moreover, the sermon should remind the hearers of the general groundwork of the faith. How ridicule of the saints might keep company with superstition, was shown in that *festum fatuorum*, a service set up for sport by the clergy themselves, on the festival of the Innocents, the festival of the Circumcision of Christ, that of Epiphany, and on the fast days. This abuse had crept in to such an extent, that Gerson proposed it as a serious question, in what way that most ungodly and foolish custom, which prevailed throughout France, could be abolished, or at least moderated. Finally, he directs attention to the necessity of taking pains for the improvement of the schools, holding that it

was from the children the reformation of the church must begin—a remark often on his lips.*

When the council of Pisa was about to be opened, Gerson addressed to it his Essay on the Unity of the Church,† which he thus begins: “To those who are about to occupy themselves with the reëstablishment of concord in the church, one of those who are zealous for this peace of the church wishes them all success in finding a way to this end! And though he is himself chained and confined at home by necessary business, so that he cannot attend the council, yet the word of the Lord is not bound.” He defends the authority of the council first against objections growing out of the letter of the positive law that a council could not be held without the authority of the pope; that a person deprived of the papal authority must first obtain his dignity over again; that those who had renounced obedience to the pope, must be rejected as enemies; that no man can call the pope to account; particularly if he has not erred expressly against the articles of faith, as he could be sentenced by no man, and was subject to no one, and could not be a schismatic; that it was dangerous for the pastor to leave his flock as he must do if he abdicated; that each of the popes had done his utmost for the purification of the church, and was therefore free from fault; that it was necessary to inquire on which side lay the right and the truth, as without this knowledge those who had erred could not come to repentance. Against these, he sets up the following principles. As the schism of the church had grown out of a breach with God occasioned by sin, so the correction of bad manners could be brought about only by reconciliation with God, the unity of the church only by humility before God, and prayer. How otherwise could men hope for a removal of the schism, if the cause continued to operate, unless it were done by the free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is wont to bestow great blessings even on the undeserving and unthankful? “But still,” he adds, “we must be co-workers with him, especially at this moment when the enemy of peace is

* Rememoratio, *ibid.* p. 189: *A pueris videtur incipienda ecclesiæ reformatio.*

† *De Unitate Ecclesiæ.* *Ibid.* p. 113.

furious because the return of peace seems nearer." He hints, by way of warning, that this enemy would introduce the greatest hindrances for the purpose of prolonging the schism, sowing discord among those who were to labour for the unity of the church, by working upon their pride, or exciting covetousness or envy. He asserts that the church, by divine and natural right, with which no correctly-understood positive right could be at variance, may for the purpose of creating for herself one certain vicegerent of Christ, meet together in a general council representing herself; and this not by the authority of the cardinals alone, but also by the aid of any prince, or other Christian. Human ordinances ought to serve only for the edification, not for the destruction of the church. The council, for the purpose of bringing about that outward union, should proceed so that a safe-conduct should first of all be given by the princes and others to both individuals contending for the papal dignity, in case they were willing to appear before the council to fulfil their oaths. But if they had no confidence in such a guaranty, the abdication should be required of them by delegates lawfully invested with full powers to demand it. If they both refused, the council should then proceed, without regard to them, to the election of a universally-acknowledged pope. If some, however, should remain obstinately devoted to one of the two popes, and would not follow the judgment of the council, a thing hardly to be supposed, then they must see to it each for himself, how this would stand with their own salvation; the council and its adherents were free from all responsibility about the schism. If the reformation of the church in its head and its members, without which no thorough eradication of the schism could be effected, should be carried through at the council, still the utmost zeal would be called for, and must be perseveringly employed, lest, by a just judgment of God, some worse evil might ensue, if, after the restoration of unity, the church fell back again into the old corruption.

Gerson affirmed that there could be no positive law which was capable of being applied to the infinite variety of cases that might occur. All positive laws corresponded to the necessities of particular times; and the unity of the

church could not now be restored, unless men looked rather at the spirit than at the letter of the law, and expounded it according to the eternal laws of divine justice.*

The council of Pisa proceeded in strict conformity to the principles of the university of Paris, which were every day more widely diffused, and on which, too, the existence and authority of a council assembled without the pope, and making itself judge over him, altogether depended. In the midst of the transactions during the thirteenth session, appeared an eminent theologian, Master Paul, who set forth and expounded the principles of the supreme authority of general councils, in a way that commanded universal acquiescence.† The council was opened by the cardinal Peter Philargi, archbishop of Milan, afterwards nominated pope, with a discourse, in which he impressively described the mischiefs which had arisen from the contest between the two popes. He said: "You know how those two wretched men calumniate one another, and disgrace themselves by invectives full of rant and fury. Each calls the other antipope, obtruder, antichrist." What violence was done by such language to Christian feeling; how was right turned into wrong! "For," says he, "each of them to gain patrons in the world, to make his own party stronger by this or that person, dares not give a repulse to anybody that asks for anything. The man whom one rightly condemns, the other pronounces not bound. And thus all order is turned to confusion."‡ From the evils of the mischievous schism which he portrays, he argues the necessity of the assembling of a general council, from which alone the cure was to be expected. Not one of the more ancient councils, he declared, had ever been brought together by causes more urgent. When, after the third citation, no delegate from the two popes appeared in their defence, they were condemned, first as contumacious in contumaciam). Next, the council declared, in its ninth session, that since Gregory and Benedict had been unfaithful to the oaths they had taken on the matter of abdi-

* Quatuor considerationes. P. 119 A.

† H. v. d. Hardt. tom. II. p. 132.

‡ P. 98.

cating for the good of the church, all might rightfully refuse to pay them ecclesiastical obedience. Then in the fifteenth session, they were declared schismatics and heretics, and deposed from all their ecclesiastical dignities. All of whatever rank, even kings and emperors, were absolved from the oath of obedience given to these popes, and it was forbidden, on penalty of the ban, to recognise them henceforth as popes, and to obey them as such; the papal chair should from that moment be considered as vacant. To the protest of the emperor Rupert, who was devoted to the cause of Gregory, no regard whatever was paid. When, after the eighteenth session, the delegates of pope Benedict XIII., escorted by an envoy from the king of Arragon, who was an adherent of Benedict, appeared, they were received with loud and violent outcries. One protocol reports,* "A cry arose against them as if they were Jews." When one of the delegates, the archbishop of Taraco, named him as pope, he was interrupted with loud shouts, and the delegates afterwards retired without accomplishing anything. The council had now, as they supposed, resolved one of the problems. By deposing the two popes they had put an end to the schism: so that nothing stood any longer in the way of the election of a universally-acknowledged pope. But, in truth, this was so only in appearance; for Gregory and Benedict had still their adherents; and if a new pope were to be chosen, he could the less reckon upon a universal acknowledgment, unless by what he did for the good of the church, he was wise enough to gain over the hearts of the rebellious. In this regard, the most important thing was the reformation of the church *in capite et membris*, which had so long been earnestly desired. That without this, a thorough extirpation of the schism was not to be thought of, had indeed been emphatically testified by such men as D'Ailly, Gerson, and Clemangis. In the sixteenth session, the cardinals pledged themselves, that whichever of them should be elected pope, would not break up the council until one of the necessities of the church, a satisfactory reformation *in capite et membris*, should be effected. The

* Sessio Specialis, p. 142.

cardinals then proceeded to elect a pope, and the choice fell upon the cardinal Peter Philargi, archbishop of Milan. This person, then sixty years old, was born in Candia, while that island stood under the rule of the Venetians. He was of Greek descent. Having been early left an orphan, he was adopted when a boy by the Franciscans; and care was bestowed upon his education within the order. Thus he became himself a member of it. He had visited the most eminent universities, Oxford and Paris, and was esteemed as a man well skilled in the scholastic theology of the day. The account given of him by the free-spirited Theodoric of Niem would not lead us to regard him exactly as a man of spiritual temper or life. He knew nothing else to say of him, except that he liked to enjoy life, and drank strong wine.* He called himself Alexander V. The Parisian chancellor Gerson, who had been prevented from attending the earlier sessions of the council, still came in time, after the completion of the pope's election, to preach a discourse before Alexander V., amid the assembled council, in which he confirmed the principles on which the council of Pisa had acted, and reminded the pope of his duties to the church.† He took for his text Acts i. 6; and from the words of this passage proceeded to draw the contrast between the actual state of the church and what it should be, as representing the kingdom of God; and he invited the pope to engage with all zeal in the work of bringing the church to the realization of this idea. He certainly could not have known by what kind of movements this papal election had been brought about, nor could he have divined what was to be expected from an election which had been so brought about, when he praised all that had thus far been done by the council as a work of God. The church, he began, sighing under the evils of the schism, had cried out to the Lord: "When wilt thou restore again the kingdom in Israel?" and this prayer had in part been heard. "For," says he, "from whom comes this your choice? Comes it not from Christ? Whence so wonderful a convocation of

* De Schism. l. 3, c. 51, p. 180: *Libenter bene et laute vivebat, bibendo ut frequenter vina fortia, et delectabatur in illis.*

† Gerson. *Sermo coram Alexandro*, etc. *Ibid.* p. 131.

the council? Whence the unheard-of agreement of men just before contending with each other? Whence so speedy an assemblage of so many bishops and learned men? Assuredly from God; who is not a God of confusion but of peace." He next defends the council, as a work of God, from objections made against its validity. "The pope had not convoked it; therefore it was but a conventicle. Oh ridiculous and unreasonable judgment!" He adverts to the examples of assemblies occurring in the Acts of the Apostles, which had not been convoked by the apostle Peter; the example of the general council of Nice, which had not been assembled by the Roman bishop Silvester, but by the emperor Constantine; the example of the fifth ecumenical council, to the meeting of which, as he supposes, the bishops had mutually invited each other. "Were these, then, conventicles? Be very careful how you assert any such thing. And suppose now," says he, "the division among Christians renders it uncertain which of the two rivals they should reverence as the pope. Suppose the pope, which is a very rare case, should fall into heresy." He cites the example of Liberius who had subscribed an Arian confession of faith, of Marcellinus, who is said to have offered to idols. Suppose one oppresses Christendom with intolerable burdens? Dost thou leave us any other remedy against so grievous distempers? I do leave such an one, thou wilt say. I believe it, most assuredly; for thou wouldst attribute to the church-constitution too great imperfection, and not recognise it as one wholesomely established of God, whose works are all perfect, if it were capable of being attacked by a distemper to which no remedy could be applied. Yet in the cases mentioned no remedy is left, if the church could never come together unless convoked by the pope." He then represents the church as turning to the pope, and addressing him the invitation to restore the kingdom to Israel. He represents her as expressing the hopes he had inspired her with. He reminds the pope of the obligation to preach the gospel to all nations; speaks of the Saracens, of the people of India, who needed the restoration of pure doctrine, because they had been so long separated from the church of Rome. He next comes to speak of the Greeks, to whom he acknow-

ledges that the Latins were greatly indebted; and thinks he may be the more brief on this point, inasmuch as he is speaking before one descended from this nation. He then invites the pope so to direct his efforts that the remains of the schism, the two popes still having their parties, might be destroyed, which could easily be brought about by his zeal and the activity of the princes united with him. He proceeds next to speak of the internal condition of the church. He speaks of the dissolution of ecclesiastical order occasioned by the papal exemptions: describes how the bishops had broken loose from the archbishops, and so again the subordinates of the bishops from their authority. He complains that the monks, who for the purpose of devoting their life exclusively to works of Christian charity and to science, had voluntarily renounced all earthly possessions, the mendicants, were aspiring after the highest spiritual dignities; or, if they could have no hope of obtaining them, after the inferior benefices. "It is singular, that none should be so eager to grow rich, as those whose vocation forbids them to be rich. For why do they incessantly besiege the ears of the pope with the hope of extorting new benefices? Let them answer it to themselves, whether they have in view the common good, rather than to fill their own purses, to live in splendour, and bid adieu to the poverty which they have vowed. Albeit experience has taught me much, yet I will not judge." He complains that nearly all defied with the greatest vehemence the ecclesiastical laws, sometimes asking for permission to unite offices which were incompatible with each other; sometimes to enjoy the revenues of benefices as absentees; sometimes to obtain high dignities before the maturity of years; sometimes not to be compelled to receive ordination, and a thousand other things forbidden by the laws. Was it not intolerable, that the great prelates should give up the flocks intrusted to them, as a prey to wolves, and daily busy themselves in the computation of princely finances, disregarding the commandment of the apostle Paul, 2 Tim. ii. 4? He inveighs against those prelates who engaged in the trade of war, and from bishops turned into commanders of armies. What was more shameful than to see learned

men of good manners, either deprived of ordination, and without any spiritual office, or occupying the lowest positions, while the unlearned and vicious rose to the highest places; to see the former starving, and the latter besotted? He expresses his indignation, that where all strife should be banished afar, that there strife was sown broadcast. Scarcely was there a benefice bestowed, which the pope did not confer on *one* man, the legate on *another*, and the bishop on a *third*. And was it less absurd, that these benefices should be conferred more out of respect to human favour or fear, to impure desires, to relationship, or to some whim, than from judgment and selection? To these abuses he traced all the divisions. "Do they not strive," he represents the church as saying, "much more how they may secure benefices by the laws of Justinian, than how they may teach the people the law of Christ? Do I say *teach*? nay, I should rather say *learn*. For what man of the whole number of priests canst thou point out to me who is not unskilled in the law of Christ? Do they not labour much more after gain than to win souls?" He laments those extortions practised on the communities, for which unjust complaints served as a pretext. He complains of the concubinage, the open debaucheries of ecclesiastics. He represents the church as expressing the hope, that the pope, who from childhood had been bred up in the severe spiritual life, would call men like-minded with himself to the benefices, and hold unspiritual men at a distance. "If," says he, "you do this, which the duty of the high calling you have undertaken necessitates, then, after the extirpation of all roots of schism, Christian peace will again take possession of the world. The depravation of manners was the first cause of the evil; therefore the reformation of manners will be the first cause of good." Then he comes to the immediate attendants on the pope, reminding him that he would not have it in his power to accomplish such a work without the concurrence of those who were stationed near him. He advises him to care less for minor things, and to expend all his zeal on the greatest and most important.

Before his coronation, the pope declared that he should occupy himself with the reformation of the church, as he

and the rest of the cardinals had pledged themselves to do previous to the election. And he proposed that pious and learned men should be selected out of every nation, to labour at this task in connection with the cardinals.* In the twentieth session he confirmed all the measures that had been taken by the cardinals, since the time they had come together, for the union of the church, and all the decrees and ordinances of the council; and he was disposed to complete all that was still wanting, in a juridical and practical point of view, whenever and to whatever extent it might be necessary. He united the two parties among the cardinals, Roman and French, so that for the future they should form together one college. It is deserving of remark, that the pope thought it necessary to confirm the judgments and ordinances of the council, and to supply what was wanting in order to their validity,—a thing, however, which strictly taken conflicted with the recognition of the unconditional supreme authority of general councils, and by which at bottom the principles on which depended the validity of his own election were unsettled. Neither was the earnestly-desired reformation of the church brought about at this council; but the pope directed, in the twenty-second session, that after three years a general council should again assemble, at some place which should be designated a year beforehand.† And it was next ordered in the final session, the twenty-third, that “Whereas the pope had it in purpose, in connection with the council, to reform the church in its head and members; and whereas, by the grace of God, much has been actually set in order by him; and whereas, many other things, relating to the order of the prelates, and other subordinate ecclesiastical persons, still remained to be done, which, owing to the premature departure of the prelates and delegates, could not be brought about, therefore, the transactions respecting the reformation should be suspended until the meeting of the above-mentioned second council, and then and there continued.” This next council was, therefore, to be a continuation of the council of Pisa. Such was the termination of the council, from which men had expected at

* See Hardt. tom. II. p. 146.

† P. 155.

length the subdual of the schism, and the renovation of the church.

The most striking judgment on the course of proceedings at this council, and the causes why it so little answered the expectations which it had excited, is passed by Nicholas of Clemangis, the man best informed about the faults of his time. "What means* it to cry Peace, Peace, when there is no peace, except it be only to have regard for temporal peace and neglect spiritual, without which not even any true and certain temporal peace can be obtained? What else at the council of Pisa deceived the church of God and the people, and made them cry out Peace, Peace, when there was no peace? Was it not just this, that fleshly-minded men, filled with worldly desires, which get the upper hand wherever love grows cold, inflamed and quite blinded with the zeal of getting benefices, prevented the reformation of the church, which the majority of believers and of well-disposed men longed after beyond all things else; and immediately proceeded to a new election? And when this had been effected, and they had obtained the desired promotions, they cried out, It is peace. And after the council was dissolved, they returned home with the peace which they were after, that is, with their promotions."† As an example to show the mischief which must inevitably arise, when a council imagine themselves following the suggestions of the Holy Ghost, without having first taken pains to make themselves susceptible of his guidance by a suitable temper, he cites this council of Pisa. "Those," he says, "who attended the council of Pisa, decreed and published, that by a new election, which was hastily made in compliance with the wishes of a few ambitious men, they had removed schisms from the church and restored peace to her. And who in the church is so blind as not to understand clearly by experience, how much they themselves and the whole church were deceived by that opinion? Nothing worse could have been done to the church, nothing more dangerous to union, than before everything had been duly arranged, and placed on the basis of security and concord, so as to be able to treat of peace at all, to proceed to

* Clemangis, *Super Mater. Conc. Gener.*, Opp. p. 70. † P. 64.

a new election—the very thing which, from the beginning, had laid the foundation of schism, had prolonged it to such a duration, and had in so incredible a manner brought the church down to the ground. So long as the hankering after benefices causes this same thing to be done, so long shall we look in vain for a union of the church.

What Clemangis here says, we find confirmed, when we come to obtain a more exact knowledge of the intrigues which had brought about the election of pope Alexander, and of all that contributed to promote the evils that followed in its train. So far was it from being true, that anything had been reformed, everything, in fact, went on from worse to worse, till the evil reached its climax, and thus the fall of his power was a necessary result. The person, who, at the last moment, had laboured most to bring about this election, and who from henceforward obtained the greatest influence, was Cardinal *Balthazar Cossa*, of Bologna, a man stained with every crime,—one who could only in *these* times of extreme corruption have risen to the highest spiritual dignities. He had, as Theodoric of Niem, an eye-witness of many of these events, relates, begun his career when a young man, in a manner worthy of himself, as a pirate: then he had spent several years at the university of Pisa, as Theodoric of Niem characteristically expresses it, *sub figura studentis*; following the habit he had acquired from his earlier occupation as a pirate, to wake by night, and to sleep all day, “or till three o’clock in the afternoon.” Pope Boniface IX., under whom the worst characters were chiefly promoted, drew him to the Roman court, and made him a cardinal. He exercised, as papal legate at Bologna, an unlimited dominion,* and he made use of it to enrich himself in every possible way. All means to this end were right enough for him. He shrunk from no crime, practised the most unblushing extortions, and every species of impudent simony, and abandoned himself to every excess. In such a time of corruption, he was able, by his immense wealth, to obtain great influence, which enabled him to carry out his objects. Already, at

* Theod. de Niem de fatis Joh. XXIII. c. 9, u. 10, bei H. v. d. Hardt. II. p. 348.

the council of Pisa, he was to be chosen pope; but he did not then choose it himself, preferring to push forward another first, who could present a better show for himself, and whom he might still be able to govern entirely. It was that weak old man, Alexander V., whom Balthazar had wholly under his control. Of course, a papal government which stood under the influence of so infamous a character as Balthazar Cossa, was suited neither to gain new friends nor to put down the schism. Thus what had been gained, was three popes instead of two. Balthazar Cossa was more at home in diplomatic negotiations and enterprises of war, than in spiritual affairs. He understood how to draw off his old friend, the companion of his debaucheries, king Ladislaus of Naples, from the cause of pope Gregory. He understood how to bring it about to have Rome open her gates to Alexander V. The latter was now invited to take his seat in Rome. But Balthazar Cossa, who would have him more in his own power at Bologna, did not allow of this; he must go to Bologna; and there he soon died, in the year 1410. A far-spread report accused cardinal Cossa of deliberately taking him off by poison. The former now mounted the papal throne under the name of John XXIII., the greatest monster that had ever, or at least that had, since the abominations in the tenth and eleventh centuries, polluted the papal chair. As Balthazar Cossa had until now risen from one high post to another by bribery and corruption, so he hoped he should by the same means succeed as pope, in whatever he undertook; that by his money, his power, and his policy, he should be able to repress all the counteractive influences of that better spirit, which, for so long a time, had been earnestly and ardently longing after a reformation of the church. And at the beginning all seemed to go well. He hoped he should be able to gain over the university of Paris, whose free voices he had most reason to fear, by the bestowment of numerous benefices and other gratifications. D'Ailly reports, in his treatise on the Necessity of Reformation, which he composed a little later, and near the beginning of the council of Constance, that pope John, who had probably been told by some Ultramontanes that if he only gained over the university of Paris he had nothing further to fear, heaped upon it a

multitude of benefices, to the injury of other corporations, and that of his own court.* With the same object in view, he created Gerson's teacher and friend, the above-mentioned Pierre d'Ailly, archbishop of Cambray, a cardinal. It had, indeed, already been ordered by the council of Pisa, that after three years a council should be held to carry forward the reformation of the church, which had not been completed at Pisa. Pope John hoped to be able in this case also again to disappoint the expectation of the nations, and turn the council into a farce. He actually convoked in Rome, at the time fixed upon, in the year 1412, a reformatory council; but who could expect that anything whatever would result from a council in Rome, and under the management of the most abominable of popes? Only a few Italian prelates attended, and having busied themselves with some unimportant matters, the council, after a few sessions, broke up.† We find in a letter by Nicholas of Clemangis, a man whose authority can generally be relied upon, a story which, if not literally true, yet serves to mark the aspect in which such a council under such a pope must needs have presented itself to contemporaries. At the celebration of the *missa spiritus sancti* previous to the opening of this council, when the *Veni Creator spiritus* was sung according to the usual custom, an owl flew suddenly, with a

* De Necessitate Reformationis, cap. 26, in Gers. Opp. tom. II. p. 900: Nec est silentio transeundum, quod ipse dominus Johannes papa, informatus forsan per aliquos ultramontanos, petentes in sua curia, quod si universitati studii Parisiensis petitionibus quibuslibet exorabilem se redderet, tuto regnaret, nec tunc haberet de reliquis suæ obedientiæ in aliquo dubitare. Ipse quodam servili timore, adeo mirabiles et prius a seculis inauditas prærogativas concessit, in gratiis expectativis per directorem et magistros universitatis ejusdem, qui a modo certo numero non comprehenduntur, ut prius obtentis ab ipso per aliquas, nedum aliorum universalium studiorum graduatis, sed etiam suæ curiæ officialibus, quibuscunque et quantumcunque sufficientibus, enormiter derogarit.

† The remarks of Nichol. of Clemangis on this council, which he wrote in the year 1416, are: Convocaveret ante quatuor ferme annos Romæ concilium ecclesiæ, maxima quorundam impulsus instantia, Balthasar ille perfidissimus nuper e Petri sede (quam turpissime fœdabat) ejectus, in quo paucissimis concurrentibus extraneis, ex aliquibus qui affuerant Italicis ac curialibus, sessiones aliquot tenuit, in rebus supervacuis nihilque ad utilitatem ecclesiæ pertinentibus, tempus terendo, consumptas. Super Materia Concilii Gener. p. 75.

startling hoot, into the middle of the church, and perching itself upon a beam opposite the pope, stared him steadily in the face, at which the prelates whispered round: "Behold yonder the Holy Ghost in the shape of an owl!" The pope seemed greatly embarrassed and annoyed. First, he turned pale, then red; and, finally had no other way of helping the matter but by dissolving the meeting.* The story, to be sure, is not literally correct, as here related; but it is instructive to learn, from an eye-witness, the real fact upon which this story was founded. Theodoric of Niem relates, that once on the festival of Whitsuntide, while the pope was holding divine service in his chapel, during the chant of the *Veni Creator spiritus*, an owl flew into the chapel; and this was considered in Rome a bad omen.† Such was the foundation of the story. What Theodoric of Niem, an eye-witness, and an altogether trustworthy reporter, relates in so simple a way, did undoubtedly happen; just as elsewhere in history, incidents not without symbolical significance and prophetic truth, do actually occur, though a vulgar spirit of analysis, whose bent is to trivialise all historical facts, vainly attempts to deny it. Not without good reason did this incident leave a singularly strong impression on the minds of many living in those times. They might well look upon it as something ominous. In this way it came about that the fact was transferred to that hypocritical farce of the self-called reformatory council, whose character it so well befitted; and the incident was shaped by the imagination into the form of a miraculous event.

Meantime the university of Paris had been zealously engaged in preparing for a reformation of the church. Soon after the close of the council at Pisa, and the election of Alexander V., Gerson delivered, before the king of France, in the name of the university, a discourse of great

* *Super Materia Concilii Gener.* p. 75.

† *Quia dum quadam vice, in festo Pentecostes, dictus Balthasar vespertas solemnes in capella majori sui palatii, prope Basilicam S. Petri, ut moris est, celebraret, dum inciperetur hymnus Veni Creator spiritus, ilico adfuit et volavit illic in alto bubo seu noctua.* Theodorici de Niem, *De Vita ac fatis Constantiensibus Johannis XXIII. bei Herm.* v. d. Hardt. II. p. 375.

weight, as containing the exposition of its principles. It was not as yet understood, for so we may gather from Gerson's discourse, that all hopes of removing the schism were to be again disappointed, and that the evil must go on increasing. Gerson had fixed his hopes upon the council announced beforehand, which was to meet after three years. "All well-disposed persons," says he, "ought to labour with the fact full in view that after three years this council is to assemble."* Already he meditated far-reaching plans, embracing more than simply the reformation of the Western church. The prospect opened before him of a restoration of church concord which should unite in one the churches of the West and of the East. The best of opportunities, as he supposed, were now present for bringing about a union with the Greeks, inasmuch as they now had for pope a learned man of this nation, who had himself visited the East as papal legate.† And the impending council seemed to him to be peculiarly fitted to prepare the way for such a union: since it was to be expected that the Greeks also would be induced to send delegates to it. The supposed restoration of church unity at the council of Pisa, appeared to him as an invitation to labour more earnestly for the glorifying of the church; for he reckoned to this the doing away of that ancient schism. And that the former had been successfully accomplished at the council of Pisa appeared to him as a sign which augured favourably for the latter.‡ Undoubtedly, if the position taken by the Parisian theologians could possibly have gained the general sanction, then by means of the already-mentioned distinction between the necessary and the accidental, the mutable and the immutable, in the determinations and ordinances of the church, the business of bringing about such a union of the churches would have been very much facilitated. "Men should not," said he, "feel themselves universally bound, by the positive determinations of the popes, to recognise and hold fast *one* kind of church-governance as necessary, in things which had no direct concern with the truths of evangelical faith." He says

* *Sermo coram rege*, XII. *consideratio*. Opp. tom. II. p. 152 C.

† P. 144 A.

‡ P. 149.

with good reason, This consideration, rightly apprehended, is the principal key to the effecting of a union between Greeks and Latins; * for they differ in many modes and ways of life which perhaps would not result in any injury to the divine law. We should in all such things follow the principle of Augustin, that national customs ought invariably to be respected. Among such unimportant differences he reckoned the distinction with regard to the use of leavened or unleavened bread. The Greeks, he thinks, would fall into an error of faith, only in case they should maintain, that the first gospels had reported what was untrue in their account of the time of the paschal supper. Among these he reckoned also the marriage of priests among the Greeks, and several other things. According to the same principle of a manifold variety perfectly consistent with the essential unity of the church, in the particular church institutions, he requires also the reëstablishment of the liberties of the Gallican church, in spite of the contradiction of the Roman curialists. It is remarkable that Gerson, while he maintained the necessity of agreement in the truths of faith to the neglect of subordinate differences which might exist without injury to the former, impugns as a vulgar error the opinion, that every man may be saved in his own particular religion.† We may doubtless infer from this, that the corruption of the church, which allowed so little to be known of the practical influence of the truths of faith, had already led many to hold these truths themselves as of little practical account. Gerson signalises as opposite errors, the assertion of Marsilius of Padua and of Wickliff, that the pope ought not to have secular property, nor secular rule, and the principle expressed by Boniface VIII., that to the *one* spiritual power of the pope, all secular authority must be subjected.‡ Much as Gerson was disposed to allow a certain degree of freedom to church development, yet he could not tolerate the idea, that this freedom should pass beyond the limits of such a uniformity of doctrine, as had shaped itself into a system among the theologians of the

* P. 148.

† Et dicere contrarium est error communis, quod unusquisque sit salvatus in secta sua. P. 146 C.

‡ P. 147 B.

university of Paris. The Parisian theology was to constitute a legislative power for all theological development, so as to preclude the possibility of all revolution. This explains the conduct of Gerson in opposing the freer movement which proceeded from Bohemia. He cites the remarkable words of the Duke of Lancaster to the Duke of Burgundy, respecting the mutual relation of the theological tendencies of those times at Oxford and at Paris. "We have, in England, men of finer imagination; but the Parisians have a true, solid, and safe theology." * At this time, the university of Paris supposed that, from the foundation which had been laid at the council of Pisa, the restoration of church unity must go everywhere into effect. Alexander V. appeared as the sole legitimate pope; and Gerson proposed, that the other princes and nations should also be prevailed upon, by negotiation, to recognise him as such. The corruption of the church, and the long-ling after and the presentiment of its renovation, called forth in different countries, and in the case of different men, and in different forms—as, for example, in Bohemia, in the case of John Miliz, in the case of Matthias of Janow, and as we see also in France, in the case of Nicholas of Clemangis and Gerson,—the expectation of the near-approaching destruction of the world. Yet even in regard to this matter again, the sober, intellectual spirit of Gerson clearly manifests itself. He says: "But who knows whether it is not God's will, that the end of the world should draw nigh, and that all should betake themselves to the one Christian faith, and to that common union, which must precede the end of the world, though I announce nothing as certain, and prophesy nothing about what may be expected, when God would not reveal this, his own secret, to apostles and prophets!" †

The expectations which were cherished, when Gerson delivered his discourse in the name of the Paris university, were destined soon to be disappointed. It could not fail to be very soon known how egregiously men had been mistaken, when the events which we have described took

* *Habemus in Anglia viros subtiliores in imaginationibus, sed Parisienses veram habent solidam et securam theologiam.* P. 149 B.

† P. 152 A.

place. How much could be learned from the experience of a few years! Nor did the instructive lesson pass unheeded. In vain had John XXIII. tried to conciliate the university of Paris by private benefits. In vain had he tried to draw over to his interest such a man as d'Ailly. The men who had laboured most to bring about the meeting of a general council at Pisa, were the men who laboured also most zealously to arrange matters so that another council might effect what this council had failed to accomplish. Cardinal d'Ailly, to guard against the danger of again falling into the same mistakes, presented to view, in a letter addressed to his disciple Gerson, the difficulties lying in the way of a restoration of unity and of a reformation of the church by a general council.* "If," says he, "a new general council should actually be convened, of what use would it be? Suppose even, that all three of the popes should abdicate of their own accord, or else be forced to leave their places; and instead of them, a new one should be elected, as at Pisa; yet the cardinals would again take the choice into their own hands, and they would again choose a man out of their own body, who would be no better than the former ones. And thus the old mischief will go on as long as the cardinals remain the same. But suppose the council should light upon some other method of election, and the choice should fall upon a man of an altogether different stamp from the earlier ones; then the cardinals would, without doubt, refuse to acknowledge a person so entirely different from themselves, and some new and worse division would grow out of this. Thus a complication of difficulties meets us on all sides." He points to the council of Pisa as a warning example. Although the cardinals had in their letters, sent forth in all directions, promised a council for the reformation of the church in its head and members, yet they had chosen out of their body Alexander V., who, although a great theologian, yet was wholly inexperienced in the things belonging to his office; and what the cardinals required of him he had conceded without demur, and without daring to refuse anything.

* *De Difficultate Reformationis in Concilio Universali.* Opp. Gerson. tom. II. p. 867.

Hence they had overwhelmed him with one new demand after another, and could never have enough.

Upon this, chancellor Gerson composed his Treatise on the mode in which the unity of the church should be restored and its reformation brought about at a council;* where he endeavoured to point out how the difficulties and hindrances presented to view by d'Ailly, could be met and disposed of. Gerson proceeds on the principle, ever maintained by him, that all positive laws must yield to the greatest good of the whole—the power as well of the civil magistrate as of the head of the church was conditioned on this. If kings by the law of inheritance could be deposed where the good of the state required it, how much more should popes, created such by election, be liable to ejection from office, when the good of the church required it? On this point, Gerson expresses himself in a way deserving of notice: “Will it be said that a pope, whose father and grandfather before him hardly got beans enough perhaps to satisfy the cravings of hunger, that the son of some Venetian fisherman, must maintain the papal dignity to the hurt of the entire commonwealth of the church, and with wrong to so many princes and prelates? For the sake of this, must so much ruin accrue to the souls of men? Look,” says he, “a pope is a man, descended from men, earth from earth, a sinner and subject to sin, the son of a poor peasant a few days ago; he is exalted to the papal chair. Does such an one become a sinless man, a saint, without the least repentance for his sins, without confessing them, without contrition of heart? Who has made him a saint? Not the Holy Ghost; for it is not dignity of station that brings the influences of the Holy Ghost, but the grace of God and love; not the authority of the office, for it may be enjoyed by bad men as well as good.” The popes might, as history taught, fall into precisely the same sins with those who are not priests. “We see,” says he, “as clear as noon-day, that the actions of modern prelates and priests are not of a spiritual kind, but secular and fleshly.” The higher the position held by the pope, the more bound was he to observe the law of Christ.† Were there actually

* *De Modis Uniendi ac Reformandi Ecclesiam.* P. 162.

† *Item papa non est supra dei evangelium, quod sic ejus auctoritas*

a universally-acknowledged pope, it would be his duty to use every means for restoring peace to the church, even to the laying down of his own office. Where, then, there were three, quarrelling with one another for the papacy, they were bound to renounce their arrogated rights. As the church of Christ is clearly manifested to be one, so there should be but one pope, recognised by all and manifest to all. But how could this be so, when two or three are quarrelling with one another about the papacy, as if they were contending for the eternal inheritance? He cites, as opposed to this, the words of Christ to the apostle, Luke xxii, 25. In the next place, it was evident that Christ gave no greater power to Peter than he himself exercised while on earth. The pope, therefore, had no other to administer. Why presume, then, to contend for that which does not belong to him? Nor was it to be believed that, if Paul had said to Peter, Thou art not pope or Roman bishop; thou art only bishop of Antioch but I am bishop of the Roman church, he would have contended with Paul or any other man saying the same about the papacy; but would simply have said, I bid you God-speed; rule in the name of God, as that is what you seek. "See then, ye believers," says he, "that if we obey those who are thus contending with each other and rending in pieces the church, we grievously sin. Long ere this would they have quitted the grasp of their tyrannical rule, had you not indulged them with your obedience."

But in holding fast to the abstract notion alone, that all else must give place to the greatest good of the church, Gerson was driven into principles contrary to good morals, and allowed that the end sanctifies the means. For he says, "If those two or three will not yield, it remains only to resort to stronger measures; to depose them and expel them from the communion of the church; to subtract our obedience to them. But still if by these means the highest interest of the church cannot be promoted, then we must bring about the holy concord of the church by cunning, by

esset major auctoritate Christi, nec tunc ejus potestas derivaretur a Christo: subicitur ergo ut alter Christianus in omnibus præcepto et mandato Christi. Imo tanto magis ad ipsum servandum obligatur, quanto magis est in dignitate et perfectiori statu constitutus. P. 167 C.

fraud, by force of arms, by promises, by presents, and money; finally, by resorting to imprisonment and the taking of life, or by any other means whatever whereby the unity of the church can be promoted." In inviting men to renounce their obedience to popes who gave scandal to the entire church, he says: "For if we suppose the case, that the universal church, whose head is Christ, had no pope; still a believer, who should depart from the world in charity, would be saved; for when two or three individuals are contending with each other about the papacy, and the truth on this matter is not known to the universal church,* the fact that this or that individual is pope cannot be an article of faith, nor can anything depend upon it, nor any Christian be bound to believe it. And for this reason the apostles, in drawing up the creed, did not say: I believe in the pope, or in the vicar of Christ; for the common faith of Christians does not repose upon the pope, who is but a single person, and may err; but they said: I believe in one holy, catholic church." He distinguishes the outward apostolic church, to which even wicked men might belong, from the catholic church as the community of saints. How could popes, then, belong to this latter church, who, for the sake of their own private advantage, were contending for the papacy, and lived in the condition of mortal sin? He starts the objection: "Should the legitimate pope John convoke the council, and choose to preside over it, who would venture to oppose his will? Who would venture to seek the greatest good of the church?" As the popes had already, by their special and general reservations, robbed the universal church, laid waste the monasteries, invented a thousand ways of bestowing benefices and getting money; so it would not be easy to find a man who would be inclined to give up so gainful a papacy and give peace to the universal church. But suppose the pope not to be serious in convoking the council; then, on the penalty of incurring a mortal sin, the prelates with the princes were bound to convoke it as soon as possible; to

* Quod si nec isto modo poterit ecclesia proficere, tunc dolis, fraudibus, armis, violentia, potentia, promissionibus, donis et pecuniis, tandem carceribus, mortibus convenit sanctissimam unionem ecclesiæ, et conjunctionem quomodolibet procurare. P. 170 D.

cite before it the pope and those contending with him about the papacy, and if they refused to appear, to depose them. But suppose the pope should convoke the council, but not in a safe place. Christians were not bound to go there. But suppose the place were safe, yet subject to the pope's dominion, so that there could be no liberty of speech there. Christians, who are no longer servants of the law, but free sons of grace, were not bound to appear there. Whenever, then, the question on hand related to the deposing of the pope or to a censure of his conduct, or a limitation of his power, it noways belonged to him to convoke the general council, but to the prelates, the cardinals, bishops, and secular rulers; but where the question on hand related to the reformation of a province or a kingdom, to the extirpation of heresies, the defence of the faith, then it was the business of the pope and his cardinals to convoke the council.* It appeared to him the only means for deliverance, that the emperor should convoke the council, and, as defender of the faith, preside over it, and find some method of restoring again the flock of Christ.† D'Ailly had made the objection that the next council, inasmuch as it was but a continuation of the council of Pisa, would bring nothing better to pass. To this Gerson replies, There can be nothing so good but that there may be something still better. Since, then, the new council may do something still better than the first, where, according to the opinion of all, a certain over-hastiness prevailed, and where everything had been done with heat and precipitancy and not with due deliberation, so that, in truth, it had not answered its end, of restoring unity to the church and bringing all under one pope; and since too many foreign matters had been introduced at that time; so the future council might possibly prove to be a holier and more perfect one.‡ Although Gerson acknowledged the necessity of a change in the laws, to render them more conformable to the times, still he would not concede to the pope the right of dispensing with any laws enacted by a council, or of making any modifications in them. He well understood how everything would thus be unsettled again. Such power ought

* P. 172.

† P. 179 C.

‡ P. 186 C.

not to be intrusted to any single man : it should be reserved to another general council.* He then complains of the arbitrary deviations from laws enacted by the older councils, laws which had become almost a matter of ridicule. The most wanton extortions in filling up church offices had proceeded from the court at Avignon, because none of the cardinals were able to keep up royal state, unless daily sustained by supplies flowing to them from all quarters through such modes of gain. And when that new union, which he calls a *talis qualis*, was brought about at Pisa, the extortions had been carried to a still greater extent.† He proposes that a new council should be held every five or six years, where a more complete reformation in all things might be carried through.‡

Gerson says :§ “Because the prelates of our time are dumb dogs, these mischievous constitutions and reservations have taken the place of rights and laws ; so that it is frightful to recount the number of evils which have thereby been occasioned ; as, for example, that the intimates of the cardinals, occasionally murderers, ignorant men, cooks, grooms, mule-drivers, may obtain canonicates in cathedral churches ; while those who have obtained a degree in any of the faculties cannot get at them.” D’Ailly had suggested the query, as to what should be done in case the pope with his cardinals persisted in clinging to the old corruptions, and gave themselves no concern about any of the laws enacted by the council ; to which Gerson replies : “As those priests of Baal, who themselves devoured the offerings presented to Baal, and told the people on the next day that Baal had devoured them, and were all destroyed when the cheat came to be exposed, so was it with those high priests who lied to God and men with indulgences, dispensations, and blessings, who preached much falsehood, calling good evil, and evil good. If these were not wholly extirpated, so that *pope Boniface’s plantation*, which God had not planted, should be destroyed and utterly banished from human society, he feared the church would never be reformed in the head and members, but that extortions would continually rise in enormity, till the pope and cardinals

* P. 182 D. † P. 185 A. ‡ P. 170 A. § P. 194 A.

got into their hands all the property in the world; and then there would be no apostolical chair, but only an apostatical one; no divine see, but a seat of Satan, on which no man ought to sit, but from which every man should recoil. No prelate,* when the reservations and valuations of the benefices were made, having shown the least opposition, either from weakness or ignorance or a regard to their own advantage, the pope and cardinals had, for nearly a hundred years, declared that these reservations had obtained the validity of law; and that a general council could not alter them; which was false. No. Let the prelates rise up, let them present to God the sacrifice of righteousness, and let them try to banish for ever those robberies by the Roman chancery; for such things could not be prescribed to the prejudice of the church, things that conflicted with its very being. To get hold of this money from the benefices, thousands of officials had been appointed at the Roman court, and perhaps not one could be found among them all who was there for the promotion of virtue. "There," says he, "the daily talk is of castles, of territorial domains, of the different kinds of weapons, of gold; but seldom or never of chastity, alms, righteousness, faith, or holy manners; so that the court, once a spiritual one, has become a secular, devilish, tyrannical court, and worse in manners and civil transactions than any other."† How can the pope, says he,‡ be servant of the servants of God on earth, when he is more ready to please princes, kings, and tyrants, than God and his saints? Were the pope, indeed, servant of the servants of God, as he styles himself in the beginning of his bulls, he would obey and serve the poor who are God's servants, or at least show care for them by works of mercy. "But where will you find charity in a pope?" He complains that no poor, no pious man, seeking help in spiritual or bodily distress, could be admitted into the papal palace. You may, indeed, see soldiers and tyrants decked in purple go in to him; but never an ill-clad, poor man, though he may be learned and conscientious. He is no longer "servant of the servants of God," but rather, "John, the lord of lords."

* P. 194 C.

† P. 184 B.

‡ P. 197 C.

When tyrannical princes, men of bad lives, oppressors of the church, apply to the pope with their petitions for some castle or other, or to obtain a beneficium, or a bishopric for their favourites, the petitions of such are sooner listened to than those of better princes."* The power, he affirmed, did not belong to the pope, which was commonly ascribed to him, of binding in heaven and on earth;† all that had been given him was the power of announcing and of absolving in spiritual things. He did but announce that he whom he absolved, was absolved, he whom he bound was bound in the church. Not the pope, but God only could forgive sins. If it should be asked, to what end was the convocation of such a general council, the answer was, that it was called more particularly for two objects: first, the union of the church under one head; secondly, union in the customs and laws of the primitive church. And if it should be objected, that the means were doubtful, and therefore unsafe, especially as there was already a pope;‡ to this he replied, that although we have, according to right, but one pope, yet in point of fact there are two others besides. Let there be assembled, then, a council to carry out what was resolved upon at the council of Pisa, or, if this could not be done, as was probable, and if the two other popes were ready to appear at a general council, and to abdicate there, in case John XXIII. would do the same, then the latter was bound, if a deliverance of the church was in no other way possible, to give up willingly for this object even more than a papacy, so that the whole Christian commonwealth might not, for the sake of one individual who was a sinner and neither exemplary nor virtuous, be brought to destruction. Were he a virtuous man, he would follow the example of Christ, who came not to do his own will, but the will of Him that sent him. He would submit to the will of the whole church and lay down his papacy, if He required him to do so. Even though there were a true, undoubted, and universally-acknowledged pope, he would be necessitated to do this by the demand of a general council, in case the church could not otherwise be helped; and to obey without contradiction all the ordi-

* P. 197 A.

† P. 198 A.

‡ P. 181.

nances of that general council. D'Ailly had presented the objection, that in case of a vacancy of the imperial throne, and a contention among the elector-princes, obeying different popes, a convocation of the council from such a quarter could not be made; to which Gerson* replies: If this could not be done, then the convocation of the council would devolve, first, on other princes; next, on other societies and secular lords; then on citizens of the towns and peasants, and even down to the poorest old woman; for as the church might consist even of the poorest old woman, as, for example, at the death of Christ, when the Virgin Mary only remained,—so by such an one a general council could be called for the deliverance of the church. Furthermore, D'Ailly had made the objection, that a newly-elected emperor was bound by the oath given to his pope. To this Gerson replies:† No oath can be binding to the prejudice of the universal church. He cites, for illustration, the case of a monarch, cruel and ferocious to his people; in such a case the people were no longer bound by the oath they had given to him, but the subjects were made judges over their master.‡

It seems to Gerson § desirable that neither of the popes, nor yet any one from the college of cardinals, should be made pope; for, as the latter were inured to the practice of the old abuses and extortions, it was to be feared, that they would persist in them, and that the evil might be made worse. Therefore, to forefend such mischief, a determination of the general council was to be desired, that in future no person should be chosen pope from the body of cardinals, but that he should be chosen from the several provinces and kingdoms according to a certain order. Then, after the election of such a pope, it seems to him especially requisite that his power should for the future be limited, as the pope had taken many rights of the church into his own hands.

The peace between the pope and king Ladislaus did not last long. The latter suddenly attacked the pope's residence.

* P. 189 A.

† P. 189 D.

‡ Sicut si rex iniquus in populum sibi subditum vellet desævire, non tenentur ejus subditi, juramentum homagii et fidelitatis olim præstitum ei in aliquo observare.

§ P. 195 B.

So extremely odious had the latter rendered himself at Rome, that Ladislaus found little difficulty in making himself master of the city. Pope John fled in great trepidation on horseback, in May of the year 1413, to Florence; thence he went to Bologna, and to several cities of Lombardy, and had an interview with the new emperor Sigismond, who had been invited by all the well-disposed to effect a cure of the corruption and of the schism in the church, and for this purpose to hasten the meeting of a general council.* A common political interest joined together the pope and the emperor in the quarrel with king Ladislaus. Besides, the pope could not fail to understand, that it was impossible for him any longer to succeed in eluding the general desire after a reformatory council. He consented to the meeting of such a council. One important question only remained to be decided,—that of the place where the council should assemble. Aretin, the pope's secretary at that time, relates, that the pope, before sending off his legates to the emperor,† told him that all depended on the place of the council; he would not go to a spot where the emperor was the more powerful. He would, for the sake of appearances, give his legates ample powers to treat on this point with the emperor. To this the ostensible instruction to the legates should relate. But he would secretly instruct them and restrict the choice to a few cities; and these cities he named to Aretin. But, on dismissing his legates, it occurred to him all at once, that he would trust the whole matter to their hands. He said he would leave everything to their discretion; and in proof of it, he tore in pieces the secret instructions which he was intending to give them. So states Aretin, who was present during these secret transactions between the pope and his legates.‡ The legates, bound by no restrictions, suffered themselves to be persuaded by the emperor to accept of the free German city of Constance as the place for the meeting of the council. This was, to be sure, a perilous choice to the interests of the pope; but he could not now recede with honour. The historian Aretin, in relating this, adds: "None can resist God's will."

* P. 201 A.

† *Commentarius* in Muratori *Scrip. Rer. Ital.* tom. XIX. p. 928 C.

‡ *Ibid.* D.

Meanwhile king Ladislaus died. The pope was urged by his kinsmen and friends to return to Rome. They augured to him no good of his journey to Constance. Gladly would he have returned to Rome, instead of going to Constance. But it was now too late to alter the thing with a good grace; and he still indulged a hope that he should, as he had often done before, win the victory by his craftiness and his money; and, at Bologna, where he finally took up his quarters, he provided himself with a sumptuous equipage, with which he intended to make his journey to Constance, and by which he hoped to make a great impression on many.* The pope and the emperor Sigismond now put forth in common their proclamation for a council, which should assemble at Constance, in November of the year 1414, for the restoration of unity to the church, and for the reformation of the church in its head and members.

The cardinal d'Ailly prepared the way for the doings of the council by his work on the Necessity of the Reformation of the Church to be brought about by the council.† He pointed it out as the first thing to be done, that the council should resolve not to break up until the choice of a pope recognised by all Christendom should be effected. The shortest way to this, in his opinion, was, that, without any regard to the decrees of the council of Pisa, the three popes should all resign their dignities. If this were done, an upright man, of regular, scientific education, should be elected by twelve prelates, more or less, who should receive full powers for this purpose from the council, with the concurrence of the cardinals.‡ Moreover, d'Ailly maintains, that as a king who abuses his power may be dethroned by the people, for whose greatest good he is there, so *à fortiori* this could be done in the case of a pope, who is chosen for the express purpose of teaching the laws of God.§ He complains of the great state which the cardinals thought it necessary to display, and in order to display which they were forced to sequester to their own use all the revenues of the church. "For," says he,|| "of what

* Theod. De Niem, de Fatis Joh. XXIII. c. 40, l. 1. p. 387.

† Monita de Necessitate Reformationis Ecclesiæ in Capite et in Membris. In Gers. opp. II. p. 885.

‡ P. 886.

§ P. 896.

|| P. 888 D.

use is all that wonderful pomp? that he who to-day, perhaps, is content to appear publicly as the humble retainer of a clergyman, to-morrow, made a cardinal, feels as if the world was scarcely enough for him, and appears in as much state as if he were leading an army to battle."* He would see those abuses removed, that cardinals should appropriate to themselves archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies; should never be seen by their dioceses, but cause the functions to be discharged by ignorant, worthless hirelings, out of all which grew much evil to the church. He expresses the wish that the council would counteract the mischiefs occasioned by the suffragan bishops in Germany. These, having obtained their offices by simony, were accustomed to practise, in their turn, every species of extortion on the clergy and the people, and to push bargains for giving ordinations. The council should establish certain rules against these malpractices. He thinks that, as so much corruption proceeded from the Roman court, this should first be reformed; that those who made a trade of spiritual things, and the instruments of simony, should be† utterly thrust out from that court. He considers it as a consequence of simony, and of those other malpractices, that the heresies in Bohemia and Moravia had made such headway.‡ A strenuous effort should be made to banish heresies and the authors of them from Bohemia and Moravia. But there was no way in which this could be thoroughly done, except by applying some remedy to the evil which had given occasion for all attacks upon the papacy, namely, the corruption of the Roman court. That court should be brought back to its ancient good manners.§ The same d'Ailly composed, about this time, two letters addressed to pope John,|| relating to the same subject. He adverts in them to certain language on the necessity of a church reformation, which had once been uttered in a solemn assembly before pope Urban V. He deems it the more necessary to refer to this, because soon afterwards, on the death of Gregory XI., the schism, under the effects of which they were now suffering, had grown out of the corruptions of the church, to the correction of

* P. 892 D.

§ P. 902 A.

† P. 898 C.

‡ P. 901 C

|| P. 876.

which this language had reference. He says :* “ Although I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, yet I venture to say, without asserting anything rash, that if at the next council means are not found to remove these scandals, by the entire healing of the schism and by the reformation of so corrupt a church, then we must set it down as probable that still more and greater evils will ensue.” He states that some took comfort from the fact that the abbot Bernard and others had found it necessary to complain of the corruption of the church, and yet its downfall did not follow. In like manner, it might still prolong its existence. He affirms, on the contrary, that when the measure of sins is filled up, divine judgment will interpose, and the children must often atone for guilt contracted by their fathers. Next he adverts to the opinion of those inconsiderate men, from whom the church had to expect the greatest danger, whose motto was, Let the world take its natural course, and who looked upon everything alike with the same indifference.† Furthermore, he mentions the opinion of a certain class, who held the evils of the church to be incurable, and supposed that, as all kingdoms have had their end, so the dominion of the church was now, by the fault of its presiding officers, hastening to its decline ; in contradiction to which he says, a divine judgment, it is true, may be threatening the church ; but still, should an improvement of manners take place, should the superfluous pomp of the prelates be moderated, should men, in heart and deed, repent and turn to God, it was to be hoped that God would, in some ineffable way, send deliverance, and stay the course of judgment.

Although pope John relied with some confidence upon the influence of his wealth, upon the great number of prelates devoted to him or bound up in his interests, and upon the force of intrigue, yet it was not without anxiety that he set out upon the journey to Constance. On his way through Tyrol, he had an interview with duke Frederic of Austria, wishing to take advantage of the bad terms on which the duke stood with the emperor Sigismond, the zealous promoter of church reform ; and he made the duke agree

* P. 880 A.

† Error valde perversus eorum, qui dicebant : veniat quod poterit, conformemus nos huic sæculo tempestivius. P. 879 A.

that in case the pope should not find himself safe in Constance, the duke should afford him protection in his neighbouring domain. Thus his plan was already laid. It was already his intention, in case he failed of carrying out his schemes at Constance, to try the experiment of making his escape by flight, so as to break up the council. During the journey the pope's carriage was upset in the snow. This was looked upon by himself and many others as a bad omen. He arrived at Constance on the 28th of October, and after several adjournments the council was opened. The pope was calculating that the votes would be taken by the number of persons, and was therefore hoping to carry out his measures by the majority of single votes, particularly from the Italian nation, upon which he might depend. But his designs were penetrated and defeated. In a proposition relating to the form of transacting business, the fact was noticed, that the pope had on his side a majority of poor prelates belonging to the Italians, exceeding the number of deputies present from any other nation; that he had appointed fifty chamberlains; that by the administration of various oaths, by presents or by threats, he had secured numbers to himself; so that by the majority of votes he could manage all matters as he pleased. To guard against unfairness from this cause, it was deemed best that the votes should be taken by nations rather than by persons.* This proposition was carried, in spite of all the opposition of the papal party. The council was divided for the present into four nations, Italians, French, Germans, and English. The deputies of each nation held their separate meetings, and whatever was determined upon by the majority in these meetings passed as the judgment of the nation. Then the committees of the several different nations reported their separate decrees in the general congregations of the deputies of all the four nations, and whatever was decreed by the majority of the four votes in these meetings was to be proclaimed in the public sessions as a decree of the council. It would be important, again, for the interest of the pope, if none but bishops and abbots were allowed a definitive vote in the council. Among these, independent

* V. d. Hardt. tom. II. p. 230.

thinkers were fewer in number ; among the titular-bishops and abbots, especially, were many creatures of the pope. But it was endeavoured to prevent this also. Even two cardinals, of whom one was cardinal d'Ailly, declared, in the discussions on this matter, that from the time of the foundation of the universities, doctors of theology, doctors of the canon and the civil law, men to whom were entrusted the office of teaching and preaching, could not but have more weight than titular-bishops and abbots, who neither preached nor taught, nor had any cure of souls ; and that the learning of the former must be set as a make-weight over against the advantage which the higher but ignorant prelates obtained from their authority. In deciding on matters of faith especially, theological learning could not be dispensed with. Furthermore, inferior ecclesiastics who exercised the office of preaching, and had the cure of souls, had a better right to join in the discussion of purely spiritual matters than those who were bishops merely by title, and abbots. Cardinal St. Marci called the ignorant prelates mitred asses. It was remarked, in the next place, that in business relating to the extermination of schism, and the restoration of peace to the church, the princes and their envoys were not to be excluded from the right of voting, since the matter was so intimately connected with the interest of princes and their subjects. Moreover, their assistance was required to execute the decrees of the council on these matters.* This proposition also was adopted ; and thus the most free-minded, sagacious, and independent men obtained great influence at the council, an influence which the pope had special reason to dread. The prelates devoted to the pope demanded, that the first business to be attended to should be the confirmation of the council of Pisa ; from this it was to be derived, as a necessary consequence, that the only business before the present council was to carry out the decrees of the council of Pisa ; that the council, therefore, should proceed on the assumption that the authority of pope John XXIII. was alone valid, and that the only thing necessary was to persuade or to compel the other two popes to submit.† Against this,

* V. d. Hardt. p. 228.

† Ibid tom. IV. 1, p. 23, seq.

it was observed by d'Ailly* and others, that the council of Constance was not competent to confirm the council of Pisa, standing as it did on the same footing of authority with its own; and the only influence of such a proceeding would be to unsettle the minds of men, as if that general council were not a legal one by itself; but the council of Constance must be regarded as an independent continuation of the council at Pisa, and act accordingly. Thus they ought to proceed in reference to the reformation of the church in its head and members, and the restoration of church unity. Hence it might be inferred, that the council was competent, if the general good of the church required it, and her union was to be secured in no other way, to oblige all the three popes to resign.

This form of transacting business could not fail to work favourably on the course of the council. The effects of the freer mode of proceeding soon manifested themselves. A man stained with so many vices as this Balthazar Cossa, whose crimes were known to so many, must soon be exposed. In the month of February, of the year 1415, a number of charges against the pope were laid before the council, relating to every species of vice and crime, and which, for the most part at least, were too true. To the pope, who had his secret spies in all quarters, this was soon reported; and at first he was thrown into great trepidation and anxiety, for his conscience accused him. He called round him certain cardinals and other prelates, his confidants, for the purpose of consulting what was to be done under these critical circumstances. He endeavoured to make himself friends by promises and presents. Already he entertained the design, as it is said, to appear before the council, and on many points confess his guilt as a sinful man; but to deny other things, and to claim that, being pope, he could be deposed only for heresy. But there was no intention of pushing matters to an extreme. The crimes charged were of a nature so grossly bad, that the council must have hesitated about the propriety of bringing such matters into public discussion, to the disgrace of the papacy and of the church; matters which could not

* Tom. II. p. 194.

fail to scandalize many. It was considered a better course, not to enter into any further examination of these matters, but only to take advantage of the bad position of the pope to induce him to resign, and thus make the way easier to an extermination of the schism. When this proposal was laid before the pope, he was at first very glad of an opportunity to get out of his worst difficulty so easily. But he concealed his satisfaction, and assuming a serious mien, declared himself inclined, for the sake of the peace of the church, to resign, if the other two popes would also do the same, since in this case alone would it be of any use.* But having somewhat recovered from his first fright, John began to assume again a more haughty tone. He drew up such forms of abdication as still left him a subterfuge, so that he might avoid the necessity of laying down the papal office. Men had learned caution from earlier experiences, and were disposed in all cases to be on the look out: hence they had some objections to find with each of the three forms of abdication which the pope proposed. It evidences the utter shamelessness and moral stupidity of Balthazar Cossa, a man conscious of such infamous crimes, that he was still capable of beginning the third form of abdication in words like these:† “Although the most holy father is bound by no vow, by no oath, or promise, which he may have given, yet he promises and vows, for the sake of the peace of the Christian people of God and the church, that he will of his own free accord give them peace by his abdication, in person, or through his authorised agents,” etc. Finally, John consented, on the first of March, to present before the assembled council a form of abdication such as should be prescribed for him. This announcement excited great joy, and the *Te Deum* was sung. Still an abdication of the pope conditioned on the proviso that the other two popes should also do the same, failed of giving perfect satisfaction by reason of the condition itself, since it was impossible to reckon on the course which the other two popes might take. Now as the emperor Sigismond was about making a

* V. d. Hardt. tom. IV. p. 41, and the words of Theod. of Niem, who then was a resident at the Roman court in Constance, tom. II. c. 3, p. 391.

† Tom. II. c. 21, p. 234.

journey to Nice for the purpose of treating with pope Benedict about his resignation, pope John was strongly urged, for the sake of putting an end for ever to all evasions, to give the emperor himself full powers, or to send in his company an agent fully authorised to make the abdication in his name at once. But in the mean time John had succeeded in bringing over to the side of his interests a number of princes and prelates; he might hope to sow discord in the council, since many were still too much entangled in the old church system to feel at liberty to approve any sterner measures against the pope. Not only were the Italians of this temper, or else inclined to the interest of the pope in other ways, but a breach was already threatening to take place betwixt the freer party, which consisted of the Germans and the English, and at whose head was the emperor, and the French deputies on the other side. But this division was fortunately prevented by the exertions of the emperor. Thus the pope struggled every way against the above proposition, as if by following it he would compromise his dignity. He proposed to make the journey himself to Nice for the purpose of treating with pope Benedict. But taught by the experience which they had had of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., the council had no confidence in the sincerity of this proposal, and feared that the pope, having once got away from Constance, would endeavour to effect a dissolution of the council. In vain had the pope endeavoured to soften the heart of the emperor Sigismund, in whom the more liberal party ever found their strongest support, by the present of the golden rose, consecrated on Palm Sunday, a mark of honour with which princes were seldom gratified by the popes; in vain did he pretend that the climate of Constance did not agree with his health, as an excuse for leaving that city, to be followed by attempts to break up the council; the emperor pointed out to him the unsatisfactory character of these pretences, and offered him any more agreeable spot which he might choose for a residence in the vicinity of Constance. Already rumours were afloat about the pope's designs to get away from Constance, and secret directions given to those having custody of the gates, not to allow him to escape. The pope contradicted all such rumours before the emperor

himself. Meanwhile, duke Frederic of Austria, according to the plan agreed on with the pope, came on the 20th of March to Constance, and while he was diverting the public attention by a magnificent tournament on the next following days, pope John escaped in the darkness of the evening, disguised as a groom, and fled to Schaffhausen.

Balthazar Cossa, whose conscience seems to have been completely blunted, could now, under the protection of Duke Frederic, and at a distance from the council, breathe more freely: he could now more easily indulge the hope that he should yet succeed in sowing discord among the prelates of the council, and effect its dissolution, as well-disposed persons of that time feared he might do. He put forth from Schaffhausen letters in justification of the course he had taken, full of holy pretensions. Sometimes he justified his flight by pleading danger to his health from the unfavourable climate of Constance, compelling him to take this course; sometimes he complains of the emperor, as hindering the free action of the council, putting restrictions on the pope himself, and threatening him. He used in justifying his conduct the words which we have already cited, words so customary in the diplomatic style of hypocrisy, "It was a fear such as might overcome even a steadfast man." He summoned the cardinals and papal officials to meet him at Schaffhausen on pain of the ban. Many actually complied with the summons. They travelled backwards and forwards between the council and the pope, executing the pope's secret commissions; and they succeeded in stirring up contention in the council. Many began already to say, No pope, no council, and the council seemed disposed to remove to some other spot. Already the worst was to be feared. The canonical priest, Zacharias of Urie, a native of Constance, and the historian of the council, who wrote at this moment, makes the complaining church express her fears, that, as at Pisa, the schism instead of being healed was multiplied, so from the council of Constance would result an increase rather than a cure of the evil. The pope would succeed, under the protection of duke Frederic, in escaping to Bologna; he would establish his authority as pope in Italy; the council would choose a new one; neither Gregory nor Benedict would resign;

and then there would be four popes at once.* But by the constancy of the independent members of the French, German, and English nations, by the vigorous measures of the emperor Sigismond and his coöperation with chancellor Gerson, who was even then called the soul of the council (*anima concilii*), it was so managed, that the infamous man who still called himself pope, and to whose selfish interests many lent their support, did not succeed in carrying out his maxim, *Divide et impera*.

Gerson, in compliance with the request of the university of Paris, held before the assembled council, on the 23rd of March, a grave discourse in exposition of the new and freer system of ecclesiastical law, boldly setting forth the principles already propounded by him, and on the recognition of which, he believed, all independent action of the council must be based. In this discourse he defines the idea of a general council as follows:† “It is an assemblage of all orders of the catholic church convoked by legitimate authority, excluding no person, whoever he may be, that demands to be heard, and for the purpose of deliberating and determining in a wholesome manner, on all matters relating to the needful guidance of the church in faith and manners.” He proceeds to say, “If the church or general council decrees anything relating to the guidance of the church, the pope is not so exalted even above positive law, as to be authorised arbitrarily to annul such decrees, in the way and in the sense in which they were decreed. Although a general council cannot annul the pope’s plenitude of power, conferred on him by Christ in a supernatural way, still it may modify the use of that power by determinate laws, and by confining it within a certain range for the edification of the church, with reference to which the papal power, as well as all other authority entrusted to man, was instituted. And this is the ultimate basis of all church reformation. A church assembly may be convoked in many cases without the express sanction and the express proposal of the pope, though

* V. d. Hardt. tom. I. p. 179, seq.

† Gersonis Orat. in v. d. Hardt. tom. II. p. 272.

he may have been lawfully elected and still living. One case is when he is accused and challenged to hear the church, according to the direction of Christ; and he obstinately refuses to call a meeting of the church. Another case is, when important affairs are to be deliberated upon in a general assembly and the pope declines to convoke it. Another case, when it has already been determined by one general council that another shall be held at a certain time; and the last case, whenever a lawful doubt exists with regard to the pretensions of several individuals contending with each other for the papal office. The authority of this council is such, that whoever seeks knowingly, in a direct or indirect manner, to dissolve it and destroy its authority, or to remove it to another place, or to set up another council in opposition to it, subjects himself to the suspicion of creating a schism, or a heresy." Such an one may be accused before the council, and must defend himself before the same, to whatever order he may belong. That the council is greater than the pope is evident from the words of Christ, that the offending brother should be accused before the church, a law which admits of no exception. Now then, if the pope gives occasion of scandal to the whole church, and perseveres in it to the great injury of faith and good manners, ought he not to be punished according to that law?*

This discourse was communicated to the cardinals by the emperor Sigismond, at first in manuscript; but such as were governed by the spirit of the party, and devoted to the papal interest, could of course only condemn the principles here expressed. They declined being present at the time the discourse was delivered, lest by so doing they might seem to give countenance to the principles set forth in it. The patriarch, John of Antioch, ventured to lay down positions, standing in direct contradiction to those principles. He was an advocate for unconditional papal absolutism. From the fact that Christ had given to Peter the power of the Keys, he inferred that, in the pope, as successor of the apostle Peter, resides all plenitude of ecclesiastical power; all authority of the church

* P. 278.

and of a general council could only proceed from him; the *council* therefore was subject to him, not *he* to the council; without him no council could subsist; he was responsible to none other than the Lord; and though he plunged multitudes of souls into hell, no one could call him to account.* It is easy to see what might be expected from the advocates of such a bent: and such principles, it must be confessed, were required, in order to defend such a pope as Balthazar Cossa. Cardinal d'Ailly called the patriarch to account on the spot, for maintaining such positions: as he also refuted them afterwards in a book. The patriarch, beset on all hands, excused himself by saying that he had expressed these views not as assertions, but by way of disputation.

After much controversy between the cardinals devoted to the papal interest and system, and the liberal men in the council, on whose side stood the emperor Sigismund, it was finally brought about that, in the fourth session of the council, on the 30th of March, the principles expressed by chancellor Gerson were proclaimed in the name of the whole council. This notable session, constituting an epoch in the proceedings of the council, expressed the following principles, to wit:†—*First*, that this council, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, and representing the catholic church militant, has received its authority directly from Christ, which every one, to whatever order he may belong, even though it be the papal, is bound to obey in whatever relates to faith and to the extermination of schism. *Secondly*, that pope John is not authorised to remove the Roman court and its officials to another place. This canon, as it was drawn up in the assembly of the nations, had, however, attached to it an important addition—"in all things relating to the reformation of the church in its head and members." But against this clause, as also against many other points at variance with the hitherto prevailing system of the church constitution, the cardinals had protested; and the cardinal Francis

* Tom. II. p. 297; tom. IV. p. 66.

† Em. a Schelstrate tractat. de sensu et auctoritate decretorum Constant. concilii sess. quarta et quinta circa potestatem ecclesiasticam, cum actis et gestis ad illa spectant, Romæ 1686, p. 226.

a Zabarellis, bishop of Florence, commonly known under the name of the "Florentine cardinal," otherwise a man rather disposed to favour reform, had taken the liberty to omit this clause in the proclamation of the canon.* With this, however, the council was not at all satisfied; and it was carried, in spite of all protestations on the part of all the cardinals, that the bishop of Posen should, in the fifth session on the 6th of April, read this decree in its unabbreviated form. Meantime the cardinals, owing to the connexion known to exist between several of them and the worthless John, and owing to their protests against the freer proceedings of the council, were rendering themselves, every day, more suspected and more hated. In this struggle of parties at the council, was manifested a contrariety of views, which did not augur any favourable issue. One overture, handed in to the council by a prelate, and which certainly was based on some foundation of truth, deserves notice. He proposed, that in all transactions relating to the reformation of the church in its head and members, the cardinals should not be allowed to participate, inasmuch as they were a party concerned, and therefore could not be judges. The cardinals, whose duty it was to elect as pope the best man, or at least one not altogether bad, having knowingly elected so abominable a man, and by this abuse of their power given so great scandal to the whole church, had by so doing rendered themselves unworthy of participating in the election of a pope; they deserved other punishments, but for these reasons should not be allowed to share in these transactions of the council. It was moreover alleged against them, as a reason for excluding them from these transactions, that they had rendered themselves liable to suspicion by the fact that several of them had followed the pope in his scandalous flight, whereby he had given offence to the whole church; that they had asserted, on their return, that a council without the pope was no council, but only a conciliabulum; that so long as the pope was not deprived of his authority, or this

* Thus Gobelinus Persona, who was present at the council, reports: *Cosmodrom. in Meibom. Rer. Germ. tom. I. Helmaestadii, 1688, p. 339; also v. d. Hardt. tom. IV. pp. 87, 88.*

authority was not suspended, no man, however mighty, however endowed with spiritual gifts, nor the council even, could effect a reformation; because pope John would always find men ready to stand up for him, ready to be made rich by him; would always find purchasers of dignities, and therefore means to replenish his exchequer.* At this time appeared before the assembled council a messenger from the university of Paris, the Benedictine Gentianus, and delivered a violent discourse against the pope and the cardinals.† He complained that through the papal party the business before the council was delayed to the injury of the church. Ever since the beginning of November, the transactions had been strangely retarded by the pope and the cardinals, by many unprofitable transactions, until the 1st of March, on which day the pope had laid before the council a form of abdication. But when invited to nominate commissioners with full powers to carry, in his name, this abdication into effect, he had constantly declined; and the cardinals, who followed him in this, had delayed matters by continually proposing amendments, to the great hazard of their souls, and to the great injury of this council. Then the pope had paid no regard to his oath, had fled by night in disguise, for the purpose of breaking up the council, abandoning everything for which it was his duty to sacrifice himself. But a great part of the cardinals had followed the pope, hoping to go to Italy or to some other agreeable spot. But as they had not succeeded in their designs, some of them, out of shame, had come back; others, as they had disgraced themselves, remained behind in Schaffhausen, lest a worse thing might befall them. Then, the cardinals had opened negotiations with the council, designed to retard its proceedings by mere talk. As an example of their intrigues, he states that cardinal Francis Zabarella had been bold enough to proclaim that decree respecting the supreme authority of the council, in a mutilated form; taking upon himself the liberty of thus trifling with the council. Men who thought themselves entitled to take such liberties

* Gobelin, p. 340. † V. d. Hardt, tom. II. p. 180, seq.

as these, deserved no longer to be admitted to the deliberations. What sort of people these cardinals were, had been shown by their election of pope John. They had sworn to choose the best man; but they had still chosen that John, whom they well knew at the time was a tyrant in disposition, an assassin, a man guilty of simony, and stained with other crimes. If a person like this was the best man among them, what sort of men were they themselves? The present evils had grown out of those earlier ones. The pope and the cardinals and their faction sought daily, by all they did, to bring it about that this council, exhausted by excessive labour and expense, should be compelled to break up. They ought no longer, then, to be trusted; but all fellowship with them should be withdrawn by those who would not perish with them in their sins. They ought no longer to be trusted, for they trifled with the council. Who, indeed, had ever given greater scandal to the church than this pope John and his friends, with their retainers? those traffickers who, in so unheard-of a manner, had higgled away, in bargains, as they would swine in the market, bishoprics, abbacies, canonicates, and parish-churches. In fact, the bulls were drawn up, not in the apostolical chancery, but in the counting-houses of bankers or merchants, among the Florentines. Christ drove the sellers and buyers out of the temple; the pope and his adherents had brought them into the temple, and caused their tables to be set up there. Let the council, therefore, in order to bring to nought these deceptive arts, proceed undisturbed in their decrees, and make use of the power which God had given them. Let them but approve themselves as *constant* men in *Constance**—so he concluded—and the Lord would give them the victory, and crush Satan under their feet.†

But such voices could have no other effect than to lead the cardinals to maintain their rights with so much the more decision, and to stand up for the prerogative of the Roman church, without which nothing could be done. It was only with great difficulty that a breach could be pre-

* A play on words: Si in Constantia constantes fueritis.

† V. d. Hardt, tom. II. p. 284.

vented between the two stiffly-opposed parties. The council, in strict conformity to the principles which had been announced, acted as the highest independent tribunal of the church. The pope, flying this way and that, addressed to the council extravagant demands, with which they could not properly comply, as the price of his abdication, and so spun out the negotiations. They finally resolved, therefore, to take the last decisive step, without paying any attention to the protests of those cardinals who were devoted to the pope. The pope's trial was made the order of the day, and in the seventh session, on the 2nd of May, a citation was issued for him to appear before the council.

Duke Frederic of Austria had, in the mean time, been compelled by the emperor Sigismund to surrender into his hands the person of pope John, and he was conveyed to Ratolszell, a few miles from Constance, and there held in close confinement. The council had set forward the acts of the process, the witnesses were heard. On account of the heavy charges brought against him, he was first, in the session of the 14th of May, suspended from all spiritual offices; and then, in the eleventh session, on the 29th of May, was pronounced upon him the solemn sentence of deposition. Among other charges brought against him, was one* that he stubbornly denied the immortality of the soul. It is indeed by no means improbable that a dead faith, or superstition sufficient to hush an accusing conscience by outward modes of expunging sin, may accompany a life as stained with crimes as was that of Balthazar Cossa; but still the conduct of this awfully wicked man becomes more explicable to us on the supposition of a decided and conscious infidelity. The council, in pronouncing upon him the sentence of deposition on account of his ignominious flight from Constance, on account of his perjury, of the scandal he had given to the church, of his promoting schism, still reserved to itself the right of proceeding against him on account of his other transgressions, with greater or less severity, as might seem good to the assembled fathers.† On the next day this sentence, passed

* Gobelin. *Cosmodr. æt.* VI. l. l. p. 341. † V. d. Hardt. tom. IV. p. 281.

by the council, was shown to Balthazar Cossa, in his prison at Ratolszell. He testified repentance for his former life, calmly laid off the papal insignia, and handed them over to the deputies, and declared that, from the time he had put them on, he had not enjoyed one quiet day. Balthazar Cossa was then removed to the castle of Gottleben, not far distant from Constance, and given over to the custody of the palsgrave Louis of Bavaria.

By the deposition of Balthazar Cossa, one important obstacle in the way of restoring peace to the church was removed. Negotiations were now opened with the other two popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. The council had uniformly, in compliance with the advice of its wiser members, followed the principle of not allowing itself, in relations so new and extraordinary, to be governed by the letter of the hitherto prevailing laws; but to proceed with freedom, as the greatest good of the church required. So they acted in the present case. They were ready to give way in everything, provided only the schism could be utterly exterminated, and unity restored to the church. With Gregory XII. this course succeeded. It having been intimated to him that he might convoke the council anew and then recognise it, he did so, and then gave in the desired abdication, before the council, by his delegate Malatesta. Benedict XIII. was, to be sure, more obstinate; and nothing could be done with him. But by far the greatest part of the Spanish nation, which had thus far been devoted to his person, now deserted him and recognised the council. Thus in the year 1417, they had happily resolved one of their problems, and restored unity to the church. It was at present a council almost unanimously recognised by all the nations of Western Christendom, and the deputies of the Spanish nation now added themselves to it, so that from this time it consisted of five nations. But two problems now remained to be resolved: the long-desired reformation in the head and members, and the choice of a universally-acknowledged pope. The last was not a matter of very great difficulty, provided the form of papal election could be so arranged that all foreign and disturbing influences could be kept out of the way, and the chief influence in the selection

could be secured to the better and wiser members of the council. Neither did so much depend on the person of the pope, provided the general guidance of the church were better ordered, provided that limits were set to all abuse of the papal authority, all arbitrary proceedings of the supreme pontiff, by means of an ecclesiastical legislation; provided a higher tribunal could be instituted, before which even popes might be arraigned in case they abused their power. Much more difficult was the resolution of the first problem; for this could never be carried out in a thorough manner, without conflicting with the selfish interests of many corporations and individuals. And particularly if papal authority should be restored, this might easily succeed, as at Pisa, in frustrating any thorough-going reformation of the church.

Already, in the month of August of the year 1415, a committee from the cardinals and deputies of the nations,—a collegium reformatorium,—had been appointed to consult on the affairs connected with the reformation of the church; and this committee had continued its deliberations. Many propositions of a more liberal stamp had been discussed and settled respecting the improvement of the church constitution, the extermination of many abuses, ecclesiastical extortions, the matters of penance and indulgence, free church elections, the veneration of relics and of saints, the control of papal authority. Solemn processions of various kinds had been appointed for the purpose of imploring the divine blessing on the reformation of the church. But, it must be confessed, the corruption of manners which reigned in Constance during the meeting of the council; the multitude of prostitutes who had found their way into that city; the bad example which so many set; simony which was practised during the very acts of reform; all this furnished no very promising augury of a successful result. And even while the business of the council was proceeding, serious men stood forth, and spoke plainly to the assembled prelates, on the open contradiction between their lives and the promise of a church reformation. We may notice here, in particular, discourses preached by the Franciscan Bernard Baptisatus (Baptisé) during the deliberations on these matters in the

year 1417. He says:* “The masses and processions and other things we busy ourselves with, have little or no value in the sight of God, through the fault of many Pharisees, who come here and pray to God in the temple.” In all this he saw no true penitence, no devout prayer. “The prelates, alas!” says he, “have come to such extreme pride, that they hardly consider the people worthy of praying to God for the same things; they hardly can join them in imploring the divine grace, or in singing the *Veni Creator spiritus*.” He then distinguishes different classes of Pharisees assembled at the council—graduates, who never attended mass, sermons, or processions; holders of benefices, also parish priests, lazy, immersed in the business of the world, without devotion; men who served not God, but lived after the flesh. A second class were those who visited the Lord’s temple, but whilst there, whispered falsehoods, laughed and made fun, slept, or carried on indecent conversation. A third class were those who came to church with a long train of attendants, standing in the way of the processions, and staring about on all sides. He mentions, as a fourth class, those who made a trade of ecclesiastical things. They bought or sold. Such simony, he affirms, could not be extinguished by sermons and tracts, but only by the execution of the law; the persons guilty of it should meet with condign punishment. The fifth class consisted of those who busied themselves with science, but not science relating to divine things, but with the study of the poets, of worldly philosophy, and especially of jurisprudence. He styles the Roman court—of which it was said, it cared nothing for the sheep but only for the wool—not a divine court, but a court of devils. He hints that it had been revealed to one of the council, that unless simony should from henceforth be exterminated from the church, and the tyranny in it cast down, a dreadful persecution would shortly start up against the clergy, such as had never been before. On the degeneracy of the clergy he uses the strong language that they had already almost wholly gone over to the devil. Then addressing himself to those who had to elect the new pope.

* V. d. Hardt. tom. I. p. 881.

he says: "Be ye no Pharisees! Suffer not yourselves to be bribed by money in this election, as was done before.* Suffer not yourselves to be misled by ignorance, to be disturbed by fear, to be turned aside by partiality for any one."

Everything now depended on the question whether the election of a pope or the reformation of the church should be the first thing to be looked after. This must have been well understood by all who had at heart the best good of the church, all the unprejudiced, all who were not bribed by some particular interest. Let us hear how the enlightened Nicholas of Clemangis—who, having now retired from the din of the world, busied himself in silence with the study of the Bible, and, remote from the passions which agitated others, formed his opinion from the experience of the past—how this man contemplated the then situation of the council of Constance. Writing about the council to his friend, Nicholas de Baya,† he says: "What are we clergymen to do amid so many evils that affect us, and the still greater ones that threaten us, except to arm ourselves with the invincible shield of patience, and with the deepest contrition of our souls have recourse to the weapons of our warfare, which are tears and prayers? Had the church zealously, and in a manner worthy of her, long ago betaken herself to these weapons, she would have secured the alleviation of her own troubles, and thus of many others which affect the whole world. But how is she to sorrow over others' evils, if she cannot weep over her own which are so grievous and deep-rooted? How is she to help others, if she is too feeble to help herself, or so careless as to neglect to do it?" The first and most important thing of all, he says, is to find out the cause of the distemper: It is the anger of God, which men have drawn upon themselves. He then proceeds: "If we would labour, then, to any effect for the healing of these wounds, we must proceed in this council in a very different way from what has hitherto been done, and as I hear is done by the majority of ours who are still disposed to go to this

* Doubtless an allusion to the choice of Balthazar Cossa.

† Ep. 102, p. 290, seq.

council, not so much to seek peace for the church as to carry on the business of soliciting benefices for themselves. For I understand that some are departing with huge rolls of petitions, others with commendatory letters from their princes, others, and especially the bishops, with a view to maintain their rights of collation and of patronage. Thus nearly all go to the council to seek their own, and but very few to promote whatever makes for peace and for the cause of Christ: when, however, the truth is, as we have been taught by the experience of so long a time, that those are only means for keeping up and perpetuating the schism. Believe me, such persons ought never to have been selected for this business, persons of whom it is to be expected, that they will do more by their covetousness to perplex the cause, than they can do by any zeal for peace to promote it in any way; but we should have chosen men who were especially free from ambition, and inspired with zeal for peace and church unity from heartfelt love, who would not do fawning homage to popes for the sake of gain, would not be slaves to party zeal, but seek to form alliances for the promotion of a wholesome concord, and not their own private ends. For who could hope that the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace could ever be restored amidst so much ambition, amidst such corrupting flattery, so many quarrels growing out of party zeal? The Holy Ghost, the author and mediator of peace, is not wont to be called down by such arts. Peace comes with the Holy Spirit to those who seek it in guileless love, not with the prompting of carnal inclinations. For although the majority may differ from one another in their wishes and votes, as usually happens in councils, yet all must agree in love, that is, all must strive, out of charity, for concord. Those who do not so, deserve not to assist in counsels for peace, which they are wont to destroy more than to promote. Those who from a love without guile seek for concord, do not defend their opinions with proud and pertinacious passion; do not with self-glory rank themselves above others in understanding and wisdom; do not seek diligently their own gain, their own glory and promotion. Such the Holy Spirit visits, such he assists, such he enlightens. Such, enlightened from above, see what is

right, what is good, what is to be followed, what is to be avoided, in affairs; which others, blinded by the dust of their passions, are not wont to see. For the anointing of the Holy Ghost teaches them all things, and inspires them by secret influences with all that is profitable and healthful." In order to participate in this guidance of the Holy Spirit, he says, those who would assist at the council must give themselves to true repentance, and employ every means of grace, to purify their souls from sin, and render them fitter temples for the Holy Spirit. If he who is preparing for fellowship with Christ in the communion, betakes himself earnestly and in every way to acts of penitence, how should not he who would prepare his soul for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, be solicitous above all things to have it cleansed and placed in suitable order for such a resident. "Of what use," says he, "are masses, processions, and public invocations of the Holy Spirit, if the dwelling of the heart be not prepared for his reception? What is it to invoke the grace of the Holy Spirit with a stupefied and polluted conscience, but to invite him with the lips, and exclude him by the manners? God regards not the fine-sounding voice, but the well-ordered soul—not the sweet gracefulness of harmony, but purity of conscience." And he held it necessary, that not only those who personally attended the council, but all who had at heart the good of the church, should participate in this work of preparation. "In order to pray rightly for this laudable union, not only should this preparation of the soul be made by those that attend the council, but the prelates should stir up the catholic people everywhere to take the same course." And according to the ancient custom of the fathers, they should appoint fasts and other penitential exercises for the people; and when they are thus, so far as human frailty allows, more generally purified from the stains of sin, the prelates should appoint solemn processions to appease the divine anger, which the clergy should attend, with fasting and weeping, in sack-cloth and ashes, setting an example to others, and the whole community should accompany them with their prayers. During the whole sitting of the council should processions be made; and the princes should join in them,

not in princely state, but in simple and humble garb, or in the habiliments of mourning, as we read concerning the king of Nineveh. And all catholic kings should for once lay aside their mutual enmities, and attend the council in person, except those who might have reasonable excuse for absence. First, because, by their authority, the parties might be more easily induced to engage heartily in the business of establishing peace, and would stand in far greater awe of them than they did of the prelates and cardinals; next, because their presence would contribute to give the council a more perfect feeling of security and ease. And should there be some persons present inclined to make difficulty and disturbance, they could not so easily carry their purpose into effect. In case these things were done, he saw some prospect of a new and more glorious condition of the church through a reformation in its head and members.

Thus wrote Clemangis near the beginning of the council. But after having watched from a distance its doings for a period of more than two years, he could not but perceive how very far short of his demands the council had fallen, and his anxiety about the final issue could not but be immeasurably increased. He writes to the members of the council;* “Men assembled for the express purpose of establishing peace on a sure foundation for the Christian people, ought first to strive after peace with God for themselves, and then seek to preserve among each other the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, that Satan may not stir up new divisions among those who are contending for the repose and peace of God’s people. Satan had already, as he was informed, tried by various devices to spread among them his noxious poison, and to divert them by many a cunning trick and delusion from their holy purpose, sometimes by drawing them away from the principal matter and plunging them into other strife-begetting questions, sometimes by impelling them to new elections through the restless uneasiness of the ambitious, sometimes by throwing in their way new difficulties, growing out of one cause and another. And probably, this father

* Ep. 112 ad Concilium Generale, p. 311.

of lies and of all wickedness would never be quiet, but would seek to ruin the cause by new devices, so long as they could avail anything. But it was their business, amid all these difficulties and hindrances, to defeat his malice by their wisdom; and they must confine all their solicitude to the great object, if their renowned assembly, convoked for the reestablishment of peace, was not to break up without accomplishing its purpose. For should such a thing happen, which God forefend! then farewell to the unity of the church; about the reestablishment of which such great hopes had been excited. Men would utterly despair of it; and the schism among the Latins themselves would, like that between the Latin and the Greek churches, become an incurable one. Let them not desist, however, from their purpose, since God had already done so much for it, since by their success in removing two of the contending popes out of the way, they had peace, as it were, already in their hands. Let them not be moved by the violent demands of some, to proceed prematurely to the election of a new pope; they could not, in the present circumstances, do a worse thing for the church. Let them not imitate the actions of those, who with good reason were blamed by them. Those overhasty elections had, in fact, brought ruin on the church: they had caused the schism to strike still deeper root, and plunged the church into those coils out of which it could not possibly be extricated, if the council should again proceed, before establishing the unity of the church on a safe foundation, to a new papal election. He warns them against the influence of ambitious men, who were seeking nothing but their own benefit; of whom the world and the church were so full, that in comparison to them, the rest were but few. Men had hitherto suffered themselves to be controlled too much by such persons, had bestowed too much attention on the mere distribution of benefices. Let them from the example of the past, then, take warning with regard to the future. The choice of a pope should be the very last thing of all. He proposes that the council, in the mean time, should make an ordinance empowering the bishops to attend to the distribution of the benefices. He believes that it would, on the whole, have been much better for the Roman church,

if it had not taken all this into its own hands, had not thus been diverted from the repose of meditation, and entangled in so much secular business. They should not let themselves be drawn aside by these minor affairs from the one great business. Nay, it were better that the benefices should remain for a longer time vacant, than that the looking after the greatest good of the entire church should thereby fall into neglect. There was not one way only, there were various methods by which the heavenly Physician could heal the distempers of the church; and he lets them be discovered by those who earnestly seek them—opens to those who humbly knock. If the objects attempted in one way did not succeed, if they could not bring things themselves to harmonise with their plans and purposes, they ought, rather than give up, to accommodate themselves to circumstances: as a wise man says, "If you cannot do as you will, then you should do as you can." It was affirmed by many that one thing had been settled—which, however, he would not believe—namely, that neither of the three rival popes should be elected again. Were they certain, then, upon whom the lot of the Holy Ghost would fall, or was it right to think of setting a limit or imposing a law on the Holy Ghost, who alone could guide the choice and govern the souls of men? What was the meaning of limiting the Holy Ghost by man's arbitrary will, except to exclude him entirely? If the saying of Paul was irrefragable, that where the spirit is, there is liberty, how could we hope that the spirit would be there, where liberty was not? Might it not possibly be the case, might not that case perhaps be just at hand, that unless they elected one of these individuals, they could not restore concord? In such a case, any one surely could easily see, what course would be best, whether to elect such a person, or to go home without peace. He calls God to witness that he did not say this out of favour to any man, but by reason of his sympathy with the suffering church. Assuredly Clemangis was right in bringing the experiences of the past as a warning for the council; certainly he was right in exhorting them against the overhasty choice of a pope, in warning them against the plans of self-willed cunning, in inviting them to shape their course according to circumstances;

but with all the true things which he says in this letter, it is still easy to understand that although he might not be willing to confess it himself, his old inclination in favour of Benedict XIII. governed him ; and he would have gladly persuaded the council to acknowledge him unanimously as pope, which, however, would hardly have been the suitable means then, either for restoring union to the church, or for its reformation.*

The emperor Sigismond had the Germans, English, and French on his side, when at the beginning he insisted that the reformation should precede the election of the pope. But the Italians and Spaniards were too strongly devoted to the old system to be able to reconcile it with their sense of propriety, that a council should any longer subsist without a pope. The cardinals were bound together by the *esprit du corps*, with the exception of two who agreed with the emperor. They feared that too many things would turn up contrary to their own interest from the freer tendencies of the council. They exerted an influence, also, on the other nations. The French nation, on whom d'Ailly had a great influence, were gained over to the project of hastening the papal election. The emperor found himself left alone with the English and Germans. The German doctor, who had charge of the external affairs of the council, and served under the palsgrave, describes, in his simple and honest German style, the strong apprehensions which were felt that the reformation would be frustrated, if the election of a pope should be pushed forward first.† The emperor and the party attached to him were

* This interest in favour of Benedict is evidenced also, when in the 132nd Letter ad Reginaldum, p. 336, he traces the evils in France especially to the circumstance, that the legitimate pope Benedict had been treated so abusively.

† "But the *Anglici* and *Germani* wanted to have the reformation done before the election. And if that were to be done when the choice was made, every one would ride home as soon as he had done up his own business ; and so the reformation would never take place. And, moreover, when a pope was chosen, if the thing pleased him he would set about it ; if it did not please him he would not have it. The whole matter, then, depended on the pope ; and so they let the matter hang ; and not a thought more was had about it." V. d. Hardt. tom. IV. p. 1397.

called upon from many quarters to be careful not to depart from their plan. We may notice the speech of Stephen of Prague, probably Stephen Paletz, that fierce enemy of Huss, the man in whose eyes it was a damnable heresy to assert that the church could subsist without a visible head. Yet even he felt himself constrained to demand before all things else the reformation of the church. Undoubtedly he had sufficiently experienced amidst the commotions in Bohemia, that it was nothing else but the crying abuses in the church that had operated most powerfully in calling forth those reactions. He invited the council, before they elected a pope, to proceed to the suppression of heresies, a business which it was competent to, even without a pope, as it was more than the pope and the cardinals, and by the guidance of the Holy Ghost infallible in matters of faith.* Speaking of the reformation needed in the mode of appointing to church offices, he says: "By reason of the many advantages, the wealth and honour connected with ecclesiastical offices, the foolish and the wise, the young and the old, the bad and the good, the learned and the unlearned, strive to obtain them. ' All seek, either by good means or by bad, to attain to the fat spiritual prebends. They are ready to move heaven and earth, expose themselves to great dangers and great hardships, such that if they endured the same for God's sake, they would win the crown of martyrdom; they will degrade themselves to the filth of kitchens, and to the menial service of grooms, for the sake of getting promoted to spiritual benefices." We may call to mind the agreement between this account and the language already cited of chancellor Gerson, and of Henry of Hessia. He invites the prelates of the council in particular, now that they were approaching the end of their work of restoring peace to the church, to be on their guard against the devices of Satan, who was seeking to thwart this object, was now exciting so much the more division among them as his time was short. So we find a letter also from an unknown person, who, being a bishop of no diocese, calls himself a vagrant in the world,† portraying to the emperor

* V. d. Hardt. tom. I. p. 833.

† Ego enim Heinricus mobilis, episcopus nullius dioceseos, vagorum

the corruption of the church in all its orders, and urgently inviting him to forward the cause of reformation. So we find the archbishop of Genoa delivering a speech and exhorting the emperor to perseverance in promoting the work of reform.* But the most violent opposition to this course came from the part of the cardinals, who in the month of September presented two protests against the interference of the emperor and the efforts of the German party, against whom they tried to excite suspicion. They complain, that although the larger and sounder part of the council, the French, Italian, and Spanish nations, and the cardinals, two excepted, were of one mind on the subject, the Germans pertinaciously offered resistance.† They labour to show, that the greatest danger grew out of the long-continued vacancy of the papal chair. The council, by permitting this, was inflicting the greatest injury on its own credit. In many districts men were still undecided as to the stand which they meant to take in regard to this thing, and were waiting for the election, to see whether it would so turn out, that they could recognise the person to be elected as lawful pope. Already reports were in circulation about divisions in the council. Already men talked of some constraint under which it must labour.‡ It was to be feared, that if the election should be longer delayed, a new pope would be chosen at Rome, and find acknowledgment throughout all Italy. It was to be feared, that by some circumstance or other, the dissolution of the council—a thing no doubt which the cardinals themselves with their allies could do a great deal towards bringing about—might

vagus, licet minimus inter ceteros nostræ congregationis ministros ad hoc deputatus, legatus seu nuncius specialis, missus in universum orbem, omnia videns, veniens visitando limina beatorum Petri et Pauli, etc. V. d. Hardt. tom. I. p. 801.

* Pilei, archiepiscopi Genuensis parænesis. Ibid. p. 812

† Tres nationes, Italiæ videlicet, Galliæ et Hispaniæ, quæ faciunt multo maiorem et sanio rem partem concilii, et ultra dicti domini cardinales illam acceptaverint cæt. Schelstrat. p. 256.

‡ Nec non etiam, quod quorundam, qui eidem concilio adhæserunt, propter rumores discordiarum, et quasi impressionum, quas in eodum concilio fieri audiunt, fides jam de eodem concilio dicitur vacillare. Ibid. p. 257. We may probably understand here a malicious allusion to the pretended limiting influence of the emperor Sigismund.

take place before any step had been taken towards the election of a pope: and how then could they ever succeed in having a universally-recognised pope, when there was no pope to convoke a council? Thus these cardinals could never find it in their power to accept the principles of a freer church law; the old Roman church-system ever lay at the bottom of their creed. They complained that the Germans had left unanswered for three months their invitation that they should unite with themselves in deciding on the form of the papal election, which, to be sure, the Germans had done, but for the good reason, that the German party were for deferring everything else until the reformation of the church had been secured. They avowed that those who were ever standing in the way of the election of a pope, made themselves suspected of promoting the schism, inasmuch as the church, so long as it remained without a universally-acknowledged head, was not restored as yet to its true unity. They washed their hands of all blame, should great dangers and mischiefs be found to spring out of this want of a universally-acknowledged pope; they threw the responsibility of all this upon the Germans alone. They labour to show that the reasons given by the latter for postponing the election were no reasons at all. They themselves also and the other three nations shared with the Germans the interest which the latter expressed for the reformation of the church, as they had indeed also taken their part in the transactions on that subject; but there was nothing to hinder them, while proceeding to the election of a pope, from acting also at the same time on the matter of church reform. The most important thing in the reformation of the church was to provide, in the first place, that the church should have a universally-acknowledged visible head; for the body without the head was a mutilated carcase. How could men speak of a *reformation* while this *deformation* still continued to exist? To the unity of the church belonged two conditions—the union of the members among themselves, and their union with the head. The first they had attained; the second was still wanting, and this, therefore, should be the first thing to be brought about. Already the people were uttering against the Germans such reproaches as these: “They were inclined to the

heresy of the Hussites, to believe that the church had no need of a visible head. A card was handed about containing twelve points which required decision, among which were the following: Whether it was proper to say that, the apostolical chair being vacant, as all know it to be now, no new election was to be made; but that after such a vacancy, the church may remain, for a long and undefined time, without a head, and without any canonical arrangement relating to the form of the future election; whether this was contrary to divine law, contrary to Christ's direction with regard to his vicars and the successors of Peter? Whether it was heretical, or appeared at least to favour heresy, and particularly the Hussite heresy, condemned by this council, to say that the church could be better governed without a pope, than with his authority and that of the Roman church? Whether it was erroneous to assert, that it was a less mischief for the church to be wholly without a head, than to be deprived of the reformation of the head? Whether to assert that the Roman and universal church could not be reformed in the right way without depriving her of the temporal goods with which she had been superfluously endowed by the princes, was not something erroneous and akin to the Hussite heresy? In the propositions here thrown out, many of which very closely resemble what is to be found in the protest of the cardinals, we see manifested a disposition to find already in the Germans a spirit hostile to the secularization of the church, together with a fear that some attack might be made on the excessive wealth of the church by a council acting freely without a pope. In this suspicion and these complaints against the Germans lies a prophecy; although they were really *at this time* far from entertaining any such thoughts of a church revolution. Meantime Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, one of the most free-spirited members, and the most zealous for church reform, had died at the council. He had communicated, especially to the English nation, the free reformatory spirit. After his death, the English deputies were more easily drawn over to the other party. The Germans alone stood faithfully by the emperor Sigismond; but they singly could not carry the matter through without producing a schism in the council, and bringing about its dissolution.

But the Germans before they gave in, published on the 14th September, 1417, in opposition to the protest of the cardinals already mentioned, that well-known protest which so characteristically marks the German spirit, from which the great Reformation was destined one day to proceed: "Whereas, they had in these days been repeatedly called upon to send some from their body to deliberate about the election of a pope, which, in their opinion, is undertaken prematurely and unreasonably, as it was by their predecessors; and whereas the German nation, among other nations, has been rather violently beset; a nation—so they characterise themselves—devoted to God, patient and humble, and yet by God's grace not without power, but including in itself, besides the imperial monarchy, eight illustrious kingdoms," etc. They then go on to notice the suspicions above mentioned, that they promoted schism, favoured the heresy of Wickliff and Huss, and remark: "These false criminations and calumnies this nation has hitherto,* for the sake of peace and the preservation of concord, preferred patiently to endure, rather than by manifesting impatience and being zealous for their own honour, expose themselves to be charged by the other nations with creating discord among brethren." Far from them was it to think that the church could be governed without a pope, or that a longer vacancy of the papal chair was useful; yet they believed that such vacancy would, perhaps, be still more dangerous, where the guidance by a council did not exist as a matter of fact. And perhaps it had already been more dangerous, for the two years during which the council had so many opponents to contend with, so many kingdoms, which now had attached themselves to it. Therefore the danger at present seemed to them to be less. And since the preceding decline of the church was owing to the schism, therefore it was especially necessary, in order to guard against divisions for the future, to provide for the reformation of the head, and of the Roman court, on which future papal elections must moreover depend; and from this point these elections should be fixed and settled by the most

* V. d. Hardt. tom. IV. p. 1419: Deo devotam, patientem et humilem nationem Germanicam, per dei gratiam non magis impotentem, sed præter imperialem monarchiam octo regna inclyta continentem cæst.

sacred laws. The church from its commencement onward had been thus governed by the apostle Peter and the other apostles and their successors, those most devout shepherds, who cared not for money but for souls,* through a period of almost a thousand years; in a word, so long as heavenly interests were valued more highly than earthly; but it must be acknowledged as a painful fact, that for the last 150 years, or thereabouts, several popes with their courts had been devoted to the fleshly life, immersed in worldly pleasure, and thus they had sunk downward to what was still worse, had forgotten the things of heaven, had taken no concern whatever in the welfare of souls and things purely spiritual, but looked merely at what was subservient to gain, had usurped to themselves, by resorting to any means, the rights of other churches. The papal reservations, which spurned all laws, and which enabled them to determine the appointments to all ecclesiastical offices, are cited as an example. They had brought all tribunals under their own control; decided on all matters, even secular; dispensed unusual indulgences for money; and finally they had amassed such an amount of wealth, that many of them could enrich all their kinsmen, and some had even sought to make them princes. And hence, and especially owing to the neglect of prolonging general councils of reform, covetousness, which is called idolatry, paying court for spiritual dignities, heresy and simony, had spread far and wide. From these causes had sprung the most dangerous schisms, which some cardinals, of different and perhaps hostilely-disposed nations, had in carnal temper promoted and cherished. Pomp and display had increased among the clergy. Hence the study of the sciences had declined; church structures and monasteries had fallen to decay; their landed property had remained uncultivated and uncared for; and their valuable moveable property had been squandered away. Only the rich, men versed in pecuniary affairs, the frivolous, the general vagrants, the ignorant, the vicious, and a few capable men, were, in utter contempt of the devout and learned, not only promoted, but in God's temple preferred above all others, as by an undeniable right

* *Devotissimos pastores, non pecuniarum, sed animarum.* P. 1421.

of succession. Distinct prominence was given to the matter of indulgences as constituting the worst of these abuses;—the notion that sins could be estimated at a certain price and the pardon of them sold.* It was because the laity had seen such things done before their eyes, and had been so scandalised thereby, that they looked with contempt upon the once so highly esteemed order of the clergy, and regarded it as more an antichristian than a Christian institution.† The German nation, it was said, had learned wisdom by the experience obtained at Pisa. It had seen how the expectation of a reformation of the church, excited by solemn promises and assurances, had been disappointed; how after the choice of two popes the evil only went on from worse to worse; how vice and depravation of manners, still worse than the schism now to be exterminated, had spread far and wide. They demanded that, first of all, this corruption, as the plague which tainted the whole body of Christ, should be exterminated from the house of God, that the pope, as a pure and holy man, might be elected by pure and holy men.‡ They demanded, that whatever appertained to the above-described degeneracy of the church, should be so removed, that the church might be governed for the future after the example of that more ancient church governance, by which she had been guided a hundred and fifty years before, and in conformity with the old ecclesiastical laws; but this after the removal of those abusive ordinances which had been invented to favour the Roman church. They conclude by saying: “It is sooner to be borne and more salutary, that the Roman church should remain vacant for a time, while the general council has the direction. It is to be wished that the papal chair should

* Sub colore appretiandarum chartarum, crimina delinquentium, aut gratia dispensationum, præcise secundum qualitatem suam, ut res profanæ taxantur, abusiones manifeste nefandas committendo, indulgentias inconsuetas pro pecuniis largiendo. P. 1422.

† Ecclesiasticum statum, quem ab olim devoto cultu reverebatur, nunc tanquam amplius riguisset, levipendat, ut et illum apud aliquos magis antichristianum quam christianum fore putet. P. 1423.

‡ Ex ovili dominico tanquam infectivam putredinem, antequam pastor apostolicus mundatus, sanctus et justus, et per mundatos, sanctos et justos eligatur, præmundare, et domum dei ab inveteratis fœtidis, mundandis maculis expiare. P. 1423.

in the first place be carefully purged of its defilement, lest the future pope, even though the holiest man should be elected, might, if he sat in the midst of these abuses, become himself defiled.* The Germans then proceed to invite the fathers of the council, they adjure them by the duty of their high calling, and by the fear of God, to unite with the German nation for this end, that ere they proceed to the election of a pope, efficient decrees be published at a public session relating to everything needful in order to reformation; and that then, and not till then, they should proceed to the business of settling upon the right mode of electing a pope, and to the actual election, which would in this case prove to be an easy affair. The German nation protested before God, before the host of angels, and before the entire church, to the assembled council, that if they refused to proceed in the way required, it would not be the fault of that nation, but theirs, that the bride of Christ, the holy mother church, inseparable from her bridegroom, was not restored to purity and freedom from all stain, and in being thus restored, brought back also to perfect union.†

Thus the German nation replied to that protest of the cardinals, a document by which, as appears evident from the tone of the declaration, they felt themselves wronged; and thus they flung back the charges thrown out against them. This was the last word spoken in behalf of reform. Even the emperor and the Germans were obliged to yield at last; as they saw that nothing could be done. It was still required, however, that the pope should bind himself, immediately after the election and previous to the coronation, to proceed, before undertaking any other business, to the work of reform.

When the question, however, came to be discussed, in

* *Expedire videtur omnino, pontificalem cathedram prius diligenter purgari, et Romanam ecclesiam decoris moribus illustrari, quam futurum præsulem, etiamsi sanctissimus eligatur, in istis abusionibus sedendo, commaculare.* P. 1424.

† *Protestatur hæc natio Germanica coram deo, tota curia cœlesti, universali ecclesia et vobis, quod nisi feceritis præmissa modo et ordine supra dictis, quod non per eam, sed per vos stat, stetit et stabit, quominus sponsa Christi, sancta mater ecclesia, suo sponso inconvulsa, purior et immaculata reformetur, et reformata ad perfectam reducatur unitatem.* P. 1424.

what form the resolution containing this requirement should be drawn up, it was declared, in opposition to the Germans, that a pope once chosen could not be bound,—a premonition of the course which matters were to take.* Meanwhile a great deal was said on the subject of the church reform; but there was an evident conflict between the interests, principles, and wishes of the different nations. Yet one event transpired which was of great moment; in a certain sense it might be said to constitute an epoch and lay the foundation for a new church constitution. In the 39th session the following resolution was adopted: that the frequent appointment of general councils was a principal means of rooting out tares from the field, counteracting heresies and schisms, and promoting the reformation of the church. The neglect of holding such synods hitherto had occasioned much harm. It was therefore resolved that a general council should be held in five years, then in seven years, and from thenceforth every ten years. The pope should, a month before the conclusion of every general council, make known the place of the next council, to be selected with the concurrence of this whole assembly. He could, for weighty reasons, if the circumstances required it, anticipate the time of convoking the general assembly, but should never pass beyond the terms above designated. Accordingly, it would amount to this: that always either a general council should be actually in session, or soon to be held. If for particular reasons, however, such as war or a siege, the place previously designated for the council should prove unsuitable, the pope, with the concurrence of the cardinals, or two-thirds of them, might select a new place, belonging to the same nation with the place first designated, unless the same hindrance existed in reference to the whole nation; and in this case, he might convoke the council in some other place contiguous to this nation. Yet all this should be made known a year before the opening of the council, that all might have it in their power to be present at the proper time. By carrying this law into effect, the pope's absolute power would, to be sure, have been destroyed; a limit would have been set to his arbi-

* Schelstrat. p. 269.

trary will; the execution of the papal authority would have been subjected to constant oversight. But it was easier to draw up such a law in words, than to reduce it to practice. How much was involved in bringing about such frequent meetings of a general council! While the contest was still going on between the Germans and the other nations on the question, In what way the pope should be bound to make arrangements for a reformation of the church, news came that a man entitled to the highest veneration, the bishop of Winchester, uncle to the king of England, bound on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had arrived at Ulm. He was called in to act as a peacemaker; and he succeeded in bringing about an agreement, on the 30th of October. It was settled that the council should draw up a decree to the effect that the pope to be elected should reform the church in its head and in the Roman court, according to justice, and as the good government of the church required, before the council was dissolved; moreover the following points were expressly settled: 1. Relative to the number, the quality, and the nation of the cardinals; 2. relative to the reformation of the apostolical see; 3. relative to the annates; 4. relative to the collation of benefices and gratifications in expectancy; 5. relative to the confirmation of church elections; 6. relative to affairs which were to be transacted and those which were not to be transacted in the Roman chancery; 7. relative to appeals to the Roman court; 8. relative to the question for what causes and in what manner the pope might be corrected or deposed;* 9. relative to the extirpation of simony; 10. relative to dispensations; 11. relative to indulgences. It was determined that, after committees had been appointed for discussing and settling these matters, the rest might return home. The cardinals had now, therefore, secured their object—that the deliberation respecting the form of papal election should come first in order. Already had many of the freer voices, from the German nation as it seems, demanded that the cardinals should have no part in the papal election. We have seen, already, how their late

* Propter quæ et quomodo papa possit corrigi vel deponi. Schelstrat. p. 271.

choice of one of the most abandoned men had been turned against them. It was not without reason, therefore, that their influence was distrusted; but *they* had no intention to put up with this exclusion. One of them declared, that a council without a pope had no right to alter the form of the papal election; that a pope, chosen according to this altered form, would not be acknowledged as lawful pope. They finally agreed upon this: that six from each nation, together with the cardinals, should unite to form an electoral college, and that he who received two-thirds of the votes of these electors should be recognised as lawful pope.* Through the strife of the different nations, of whom each wanted to have a pope from its own body, another schism might easily have arisen. The Germans set the example of sacrificing their own wishes and interests to the good of the church, declaring themselves ready to give their votes for an Italian; they also prevailed on the English to yield. The French and Spaniards were refractory at first; but finally, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, on St. Martin's day in November, they were prevailed upon to give place for the Holy Spirit as a spirit of concord; and on the same day, Cardinal Otto of Colonna was chosen pope, after the election had lasted three days. He called himself Martin the Fifth.

When it was found that the newly-elected pope did not proceed as speedily as was desired to the work of reform, the French deputies betook themselves to the emperor, and begged him to press the matter with the pope; but Sigismund told them, that at an earlier day, while as yet there was no pope, it had been his duty to look after this matter; and when he had insisted that the reform should precede the pope's election, they had opposed him. Now they had a pope as they desired; and to *him*, therefore, they should go, *whose business it was now*.† When, at length, the subject of reformation again came up for deliberation, the Germans presented a draft from which we select the following remarkable points. The business related to the cases in which the pope might be corrected or deposed. It appeared to them that the pope could be punished and also deposed

* V. d. Hardt. tom. IV. p. 1452, seq. † Gobel. Pers. Cosm. p. 345.

by a general council, not only for heresy, but also for notorious simony, as well in reference to the sacraments as to the bestowment of benefices, and for any other notorious transgression, whereby scandal was given to the church, if, when reminded of his fault in a lawful way, he proved to be incorrigible. Furthermore, that the excessive indulgences which had been granted during the time of the schism, and had extended to the pardon of *all* sins, should be wholly revoked.* Pope Martin subsequently drew up a plan of reform which by no means answered the expectations of the nations. In this plan some notice was taken of the two points just referred to, which had been brought up by the Germans. In reference to the *first*, it was observed, that it did not appear, and such was the judgment also of several of the nations, how anything new could be determined on that matter. In reference to the second, it was said the pope would take care for the future, that there should be no too lavish dispensation of indulgences, lest they might fall into contempt.† And those granted since the death of Gregory XI., together with such as had been granted for release from punishment and debt or full pardon of sin at certain places, he revoked and declared null and void. Then still greater advantages were gained to the papal interest by concordats with the several nations.

The last session of the council on the 22nd of April of the year 1418, in which session the council was adjourned by the pope, was a scene of great agitation. Before the close, the envoys of the Poles and the Lithuanians appeared with a grievance. They had accused before the council a book of the Dominican, John of Falkenberg, who had been hired by the German order of knights to provoke a war of extermination against the newly-converted Lithuanians and Poles, as containing hurtful errors of doctrine. This book had been examined and condemned. But the thing they demanded, that the pope should appoint a public session in which the sentence of condemnation should be

* Quod indulgentiæ exorbitantur concessæ tempore schismatis, continentes remissionem omnium peccatorum, sint penitus revocandæ. V. d. Hardt. tom. I. p. 1010.

† Cavebit dominus noster papa in futurum nimiam indulgentiarum effusionem, ne vilescant. Ibid. p. 1038.

proclaimed, they could not carry out, probably because the pope was restrained by political considerations. They appealed, therefore, from the pope to the next general council. But they were silenced by the pope on pain of excommunication; and Martin V. put forth, in the last consistory of the cardinals at Constance, a constitution by which, in direct contradiction to the principles so distinctly laid down at Constance, he directed that no one should be allowed to dispute any decision of the pope in matters of faith, and to appeal from him to a general council.

This constitution of pope Martin V. was the occasion which led Gerson, towards the end of the council of Constance, in the year 1418, to compose a paper,* in which he defended anew the principles of freer church law expressed at Constance. He showed that by this constitution the principle relating to the supreme authority of the general council proclaimed in that public session at Constance had been overturned; and that inasmuch as it was by virtue of the same that John XXIII. had been deposed and Martin V. had been chosen pope, the legality of his own election, which rested on this principle, would be perilled. He found fault with this constitution, as contradicting the rule given by Christ himself, Matthew xviii., respecting appeal to the judgment of the church. He went on the principle that the pope was a man liable to sin and to error; his decision, therefore, could not be regarded as infallible. In proof, he adduces the example of Peter, whose successors the popes were, and cites the fact that Peter had been corrected of a practical error by Paul; and maintained that a doctor of theology, as a successor of the apostle Paul in this regard, might in a sermon publicly correct the pope. The decision of a bishop or of a pope, in matters of faith, should, in reference to the extent of the spiritual jurisdiction of either of these functionaries, bind only so far to obedience as that none should deliver anything to the contrary save where he might feel compelled to do so by the teachings of holy Scripture, or the decisions of the church. Furthermore, he was of the opinion, that

* *Tractatus, quomodo et an liceat in causis fidei a summo pontifice appellare seu ejus judicium declinare.* Oper. tom. II. p. 303.

among the immediate attendants of the pope, there was often a much greater want of men stored with knowledge, well experienced and grounded in pure doctrine, than at the universities, where the study of the sacred Scriptures was more sedulously pursued. He maintained that it was no less a duty to meet and confute those errors which were at variance with the commandments, Thou shalt not swear falsely, thou shalt do no murder, and which threatened the overturn of all public order, than to confute errors in doctrines of faith. Still Gerson somewhat modified these statements, out of respect to the authority of the pope, by adding, that the constitution of the pope might perhaps admit of another interpretation, and that the pope himself would best ward off such charges by a decided condemnation of such practical errors.

At the council of Constance, the next general council was appointed to meet, five years later, at Pavia. Accordingly, such a council was actually opened there, in the year 1423; but on account of the spread of the pestilence called the Black Death, it was dissolved and transferred to Siena. But at Siena, also, only a few sessions were held; and on the pretence that the small number of prelates assembled did not authorise the continuance of the council, in conformity with the determination of the council of Constance, the next meeting was appointed to be held seven years later, in the year 1431, at Basle. Pope Martin V. nominated already as legate to this council, and to preside over it, the cardinal Julianio Cesarini. At this important crisis he died, and left behind this weighty business for his successor Eugene IV. Cardinal Cesarini had also received from the late pope the commission as his legate, to direct the proceedings undertaken against the Hussites in Bohemia, with a view to bring them back to union with the church. If we may credit his own words, the direction of the council of Basle which the pope had imposed on him, was regarded by him as a very unwelcome task. In his letter to Eugene IV., hereafter to be mentioned, he thus expresses himself: "I believe the whole Roman court is aware how irksome to me was that legation in reference to the council. At that time I had not a visitor to whom I did not express my regret at the appointment." He reminds the pope of

what he had said to him personally on the subject when the latter was still cardinal. "Willingly as I went on the legation to Bohemia, as unwillingly did I undertake that other, on account of many things which I then dreaded as to what might possibly happen, and which I already begin to experience as having actually taken place."* From the circumstances of the times, the conflicting interests of the reformatory spirit everywhere rife and active, a spirit which, especially in a Swiss city, might break forth with more than ordinary violence, against the interest of papal absolutism, it was, doubtless, easy to foresee the recurrence of severe contests; and Julian might fear that he would become entangled in them. The business in Bohemia would be easier for him, where the whole was reduced to the simple point of a contest between an heretical tendency and the ruling church. While he was tarrying at Nuremberg, he received the news of Martin's death, and of the new government of Eugene. He now besought the new pope, by letter after letter, to release him from the commission given him by pope Martin, and appoint some other person as president of the council. He then travelled further about in Germany, preaching the crusade against the Bohemians. After this he returned to Nuremberg, where he received from the pope his commission to repair to Basle, and take upon himself the charge of presiding over the council. As he heard, however, that only a few prelates had as yet arrived at Basle, and as his presence in Bohemia seemed to him of more importance, he adopted the expedient of appointing two ecclesiastics, John of Bilombar and John of Ragusio, as his representatives for the present to preside at the council, promising himself that, as soon as the Bohemian affair permitted, he would repair to Basle, and take the presidency upon himself. Several causes, however, conspired, after he had formed this resolution, to induce him to alter his mind and to proceed immediately to Basle. The unhappy issue of the campaign in Bohemia, and the dangers that threatened the

* Propter multa quæ tunc verebar posse accidere, quæ jam experiri incipio. Epistola Juliani ad Eugenium IV. in operibus Æneæ Silvii, ed. Basil. 1571, p. 64, seq.

adjacent borders of Germany, created a wish for the most energetic measures to renew the war, and the council of Basle might furnish the best opportunity for bringing about a combined effort to promote this object. Furthermore, Cesarini had been led to observe, by the representations of the Bohemian nobles, that the Hussite affair could not be disposed of by violent measures, but that far more was to be hoped for from peaceful negotiations; but these also could be most conveniently managed by the general council of Basle. His subsequent journey through Germany served still more to convince the cardinal how necessary a general council was, to satisfy the constantly-disappointed expectations of a reformation of the church, to reform the corrupt clergy who provoked the indignation of the laity more and more every day, and, by giving assurance of redress to the complaints of the people, to ward off the threatening danger of a revolt against the church of Germany. Julian himself, in the above-mentioned letter from Basle addressed to pope Eugene, says on this point: "What impelled me to come here, is the false position and the licentiousness of the German clergy, owing to which the laity are exasperated beyond measure against the ecclesiastics. Wherefore, it is very much to be feared, that if they do not reform, the laity will, after the manner of the Hussites, fall out with the whole body of the clergy, as is already openly threatened."*

Pope Eugene, however, soon altered his resolution. The recollections of the council of Constance may have filled him with apprehensions; and he gladly availed himself of such pretexts as he found at hand, to remove the council to a distance from a city which breathed an atmosphere of freedom, and which, from circumstances connected with the place, threatened to excite the same spirit in others. He alleged as reasons, that the number of prelates assembled was so small, while the time fixed for the opening of the council had already elapsed; that the disorders of war prevented the meeting of a greater number of prelates;

* P. 66: Incitavit etiam me huc venire deformitas et dissolutio cleri Alemanicæ, ex qua laici supra modum irritantur adversus statum ecclesiasticum. Propter quod valde timendum est, nisi se emendent, ne laici more Hussitarum in totum clerum irruant, ut publice dicunt

that the contagion of the Hussite heresy had spread into those districts, and many citizens of Basle, infected with that spirit, were said to have threatened the clergy; that already, under the preceding pope, negotiations had been opened with the Greeks on the subject of union, and these were unwilling to visit so distant a city; that among several Italian cities Bologna had already been selected by them; wherefore, in order to the furtherance of so weighty an affair, it was requisite that a council should be held at Bologna, and he promised that he himself would open that council in person. But two general councils could not sit at the same time, since they must interfere with each other. For these reasons the pope declared it necessary that the council of Basle should be dissolved, and appointed another, to meet in a year and half from that time at Bologna. He gave cardinal Julian full power to carry this decree into effect.*

But this scheme of the pope could not be carried into effect so easily. There had already arrived at Basle many free-minded men, especially from the lower order of clergy. Doctors of theology and of the canon law, among whom we may mention one who stood most prominently forth as representing the freer spirit at the council of Basle, who had expounded the principles of the freer ecclesiastical law in a work entitled *Concordantia catholica*, and who held a high rank in his times as a theologian, philosopher, and mathematician—Nicholas Krebs of Cuss in Trier, known by the name of Nicholas of Cusa, or Cancer Cusanus. One fact, however, especially worthy of notice—one striking token of the reformatory spirit, of the universal consciousness that an eventual reformation of the church had come to be a matter of urgent necessity—was this, that while on all other occasions the papal legates were wont to serve, in all respects, as the obedient instruments of the popes, it was from cardinal Julian himself the first earnest opposition to pope Eugene proceeded. Instead of executing the above commission, he sent to the pope a communication in reply, representing to him the great danger

* Raynaldi Annales (Lucæ, 1752) tom. IX. ad. ann. 1431, Nr. 20, 21, pp. 104, 105.

which would result from following out that commission, and boldly expressing many plain truths. "Had I," he writes, "been present at the Roman court at that time (when the pope came to the resolution of dissolving the council), and could I have known there the dangers which here perhaps (or not perhaps) are impending, you certainly would not have come with such a message, the very report of which has already excited much scandal and great uneasiness. What, then, may we conclude, will happen, should the commission be executed? How much more advisable it had been to have intimated this scheme to me, who am here in the midst of the scene; then, informed of the whole state of the case, you could have made up your mind more maturely. How, indeed, is it possible to consult and decide rightly, if the matter to be decided is not known in all its essential circumstances? Let your holiness patiently listen, whilst I state what troubles have arisen here, and what imminent danger threatens ruin to the faith. What would the heretics say, should the council be dissolved? Would they not exult over ours, and behave themselves more proudly than ever? Would not the church confess that she has been overcome, since she ventured not to await the coming of those who have been summoned (the Bohemian deputies invited to negotiation)? Oh how great would be the shame brought on the Christian faith here! Would not men believe they saw in it the finger of God? Armed troops have often fled before them; but now the universal church herself also flies! They cannot be overcome, then, either by weapons or by arguments! What would the whole world say, on hearing of this? Will they not say, the clergy are incapable of amendment, and are determined to stick in their mire? So many councils have been held in our days, and no reformation has resulted from one of them. The nations were expecting that from this council some fruit would come. But if it shall be thus dissolved, it will be said that we have trifled with God and man. And as no remaining hope of our amendment will exist, the laity will, with good reason, set upon us as the Hussites have done; and in truth rumours to that effect are already afloat. The minds of men are full of mischief: they already begin to spew out the poison that is to bring death to us.

They will think that they do God an acceptable service, in assassinating or robbing ecclesiastics. Because these will seem to be sunk in the lowest depths of sin, they will be hateful to God and men; and the slight reverence which is paid them even now will then vanish entirely. This council was one means still, by which the people of the world could be in some measure restrained; but when they see every hope dashed to the ground, they will let loose the reins and persecute us openly. Alas! what honour is it which is to accrue to the Roman court for dissolving a council assembled for the reformation of the church! Assuredly will all the odium, all the guilt and shame fall back on them; inasmuch as they were the first occasion of so great an evil, and carried it to a higher pitch. O, holy father! far be it from me that you should be liable to be called the cause of so great evil! At your hands will be demanded the blood of those that perish! Of all, even to the last farthing, you must render an account on that day. What will you say then? What reason will you be able to adduce? If God threatens so terrible a sentence upon those who offend even the least ones in the church, what shall be done when offence is given to the whole church?" "And," he says afterwards, "although, in case the council remains in session, none of the good described should be the result, still however, if it be dissolved, all will say, If the council had not been dissolved, so many and so great benefits would have resulted from it. And the responsibility for all this will be thrown on your holiness, and never will you be able to get rid of the stigma. And although it is said that such a prorogation and removal is made for a good end, to the end that, at another place, if your holiness should be present in person still greater good might be effected, still nobody will believe it; because, they say, We were cheated at the council of Siena, and so we have been at this also. A legate was sent, bulls were sent, and yet a change of the place and a delay of the time is sought! The heretics should be asked whether they, too, are willing to suspend, for a year and a half, the spreading of their poison. They also who have been scandalised by the ugly lives of the clergy should be asked whether they will not be scandalised in the meanwhile. Every day the abuses among

the clergy give occasion of offence, and yet shall the remedy be put off? Let all be done now that can be done. What remains, may be deferred another year and a half. I fear that ere another year and half have elapsed, unless the thing is provided for in some other way, the major part of the German clergy will be destroyed." He reminds the pope of the commission given to him in reference to this council, and goes on to say: "If your holiness had dreamt of dissolving this council so soon, it would have been better not to have begun it. What does your holiness fear, as you have lived so uprightly, that others rather have occasion to fear you, than you to fear them?" He then goes on to refute the other reasons brought forward by the pope. If the pope himself could not come, on account of illness, he could nominate representatives. This was not the first council that had been held without the presence of the pope. As to the safety of the place, nothing was to be feared on that score. The citizens of Basle had promised in every form, as had been lately done at Constance, to defend the council against every one. As from so many quarters complaints had arisen, that the superfluity of worldly goods had occasioned the corruption of the clergy, and many voices had been heard to assert that the clergy must return back to their original poverty, in order to become free from worldliness, so a solicitude might here and there be created, lest the reformatory spirit of a council might lead to the determination of depriving the clergy of all their worldly possessions. In reference to such a solicitude, Julian remarks: "If this council did not consist of men of the church, such a solicitude might perhaps have some foundation. But what *clergyman* would agree to any such resolution? Not one. Not because it would be contrary to the faith only, but contrary also to their own interests. What laymen would agree to it? None, or very few. And if some princes should perhaps send delegates to the council, they would generally send ecclesiastics, noways disposed to agree to any such resolution. And the few laymen who might appear there would find it impossible to get a hearing when affairs relating to the church were in discussion. And I scarcely believe that among them all there would be present ten secular lords in person; perhaps not five.

Then I do not believe that this council will prove to be a greater one than that at Constance, or that at Pisa; and yet at neither of these councils was this question introduced. The Holy Ghost had never permitted anything contrary to the faith to be determined at any council; why, then, was a different result to be apprehended from this council at Basle? It betrayed a want of confidence in the Holy Ghost. Then he says: "But I fear the same will happen to us that happened to the Jews, who said, The Romans will come and take away our place and nation. Thus, by a righteous judgment of God, may it also turn out with us; because we are not willing that a council should be held, we shall lose our divine goods. And would we may not also lose body and soul together! When God has determined to send a calamity on a people, he first so orders it that the danger is not understood and not regarded. So it seems to stand at present with the men of the church, whom I often accuse of blindness: they see the fire, and yet rush headlong into it." "Never," says he, "would any council have been held, if such fear had seized the hearts of our fathers as has taken possession of ours." He then lays before the pope another well-grounded cause for anxiety; for, as it was quite possible that the council of Basle would not consent either to the removal or to the prorogation of the council, a new schism might be the consequence. It had been declared already that the pope's course stood in direct contradiction with the principles expressed at the council of Constance. Men seemed, moreover, to protest in the strongest terms against it; had said that to do anything of that sort was the same as to prevent the extirpation of heresies, the reformation of manners, the repose of the Christian people; and consequently the same as to promote heresies, war, and hatred. The pope had given, as a reason for the measure he proposed, the negotiations of union with the Greeks. To this the cardinal replies: It was looked upon as a great folly, that on account of the uncertain project of bringing back the Greeks to church union, the now and ever-faithful Germany should be left to fall into the heresy of the Bohemians. For it was said, this was greatly to be feared, unless some remedy should be speedily applied: and that that song about the Greeks

had been already sung three hundred years ago, and was every year sung over again. Both might be done, being good things; the first now, at a fixed and settled time; the other, a year and a half from now; and all would very gladly afterwards come and attend the proposed second council. He entreated the pope at least to put off the execution of this step until July. Meantime, the now existing mischiefs and grievances would be removed, the call of the Hussites to the council, and the preparations for the war with the Bohemians, would no longer stand in the way; for by that time everything would be finished. Many arrangements might, during the same time, be made for the reformation of the German clergy, and published in Germany; and thus something would be done; and nothing could be laid to the charge of the pope; and that which, at the present time, would only give offence, and could effect no good object whatever, might then be done with more honour. He assures the pope that all his faithful servants felt greatly troubled about this matter, especially the archbishops of Trier and of Regensburg, who were then present in Basle. It seemed to them all that a lasting disgrace would fasten itself upon the pope and the Roman court.

SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY AND DOCTRINE.

I. MOVEMENTS TOWARDS REFORM IN ENGLAND.

THAT the greater freedom of thought resulting from the reaction against the church theocratic system had its first beginning in England, is to be attributed to various causes which prepared the way for such an event. The high pretensions of the hierarchy since the time of Innocent III., who sought to make the kings of England his vassals, had, in this country, reached their acme; and for this very reason the nation, awakened to the consciousness of independence, the advocates of its rights, its government, and the free-hearted men among its clergy were aroused to opposition. In the thirteenth century, bishop Robert Grosshead, or Capito of Lincoln, had set an example of courageous resistance to that arbitrary will of the popes in disposing of church offices which was so fertile a source of corruption; and in his writings were scattered many seminal principles of reformatory truths, which long continued to operate. It is apparent that the works of this man, who, under the name of *Lincolniensis*, held a distinguished rank among the scholastic theologians, were afterwards diligently studied by the party of Wickliff in England and of Huss in Bohemia; and these writings seem to have had great influence in exciting a mode of thinking favourable to reform. Next after this distinguished man followed that profound and original thinker, Roger Bacon, whose whole mode of thinking was also calculated to awaken a freer spirit. The contest betwixt the mendicant friars—an order which spread, especially in England, with alarming rapidity—and the university of Oxford and the parish priests, who saw their rights encroached upon by the spiritual labours of these monks, had in like manner

contributed to make men conscious of the abuses of the dominant church system, and to provoke attacks upon it. In this contest, archbishop Richard of Armagh distinguished himself, as a forerunner of Wickliff, by his freedom of thought; and he is often cited, under the name of Richard Armacanus, as a witness in favour of the freer spirit, in the contest with the mendicant orders. There arose in the English parliament, under the reign of Edward III., a spirit of earnest zeal for the prerogatives of the state, and against the encroachments of the pope upon its rights and its independence. Under such circumstances and influences, appeared the English reformer of whom we are now to speak.

John Wickliff was born in the year 1324 in the village of Wycliffe, (whence according to the custom of this age he received his name,) in the county of York, not far from the city of Richmond. He studied philosophy and theology at the university of Oxford, and obtained there an academical degree. He soon distinguished himself by his mental gifts, his freedom of mind, his zeal for learning, for the prosperity of the church, and the religious interests of the people. In his pervading practical bent, we recognise a peculiarity of the English mind, which has constantly been preserved. But to this was joined, in the case of Wickliff, an original speculative element; an element which in these times was also especially developed among the English, though at a later period it retired more into the background. He subsequently occupied an important place in the philosophical school of the realists, which maintained a fierce contest with the nominalism that had revived since the time of William Occam. By his book "On the Reality of Universal Conceptions," *De Universalibus Realibus*, he had created an important epoch extending into the fifteenth century; and we shall perceive how closely combined together in him were the philosophical and the theological elements, how much his theological opinions were influenced by his realism. Bold in his practical bearing, never shrinking from any of the consequences resulting from the principles which he advocated, he exhibited the same boldness and the same consistency in the manner also in which he carried out his speculative conclusions. By his meditations on the

sad condition of the church in his time he was led to study the prophecies which came from, or were ascribed to the abbot Joachim, and with which the men who longed after a regeneration of the church busied themselves a good deal at that time; and thus arose the first work in which he appeared before the public and expressed his views on the corruption of the church. This work, composed in the English language, and entitled, "On the Last Times of the Church," has lately appeared by itself in a new edition. At first Wickliff in his reformatory tendency found a friend in the primate of the English church, Islep, archbishop of Canterbury. The latter, who had been Wickliff's friend at the university, founded in 1361, at the university of Oxford, the college of Canterbury Hall, which was to consist of eleven students under a master as their overseer (tutor), Eight of these students were at first secular clergyment, he three others, monks; and he appointed Woodhall, a monk, overseer.* The latter seems to have been a turbulent, quarrelsome man, and fomented discord between the secular clergy and the monks, who, as a general thing, could never easily live on good terms with one another. This led the archbishop, in the year 1363, to terminate the controversy, by declaring in favour of the seculars, expelling the monks, and appointing Wickliff—whom he characterised in the installation, as a man in whose circumspection, fidelity, and activity he had the utmost confidence, and to whom he gave this post on account of his honourable deportment and his learning—master of the college. In the year 1366, however, Islep died; and a man of an altogether different way of thinking, Simon Langham, heretofore bishop of Ely, who, having been educated among the monks, was their friend, succeeded him. When the monks who had been expelled from the college brought their complaints before Langham, he restored them, and Wickliff lost his place. Thinking himself wronged, Wickliff appealed to the Roman chancery. After the usual fashion at the court of Avignon, the cause met with delays. In the mean time, Wickliff had openly taken his stand on a certain question, in a way which was

* Lewis, *History of the Life and Sufferings of J. Wickliff*, London, 1270, p. 8, seq. (A new edition, corrected and enlarged by the author, Oxford, 1820, p. 9, seq.)

not calculated to make an impression which would be very favourable to him at that court. Pope Urban V. had, in the year 1365, demanded a thousand marks as quit-rent, by virtue of the feudal relation in which the English realm under king John Sansterre had placed itself to the popes.* The English parliament declared, that king John had violated his oath, in consenting to surrender so much of the independence of the state for the purpose of paying such a tribute; for that king John was not authorised, without the concurrence of the parliament, to place himself in any such relation to the pope. Out of this arose a controversy. One of the mendicant friars wrote in defence of the pope's cause; but Wickliff appeared against him. He expressed himself with great freedom in his paper on this subject.† He attributed to the king the right, not only in concurrence with his parliament to repudiate that quit-rent, but also to bring the clergy, in civil suits, before a secular court, to deprive them of any excessive superfluity of worldly goods; since this, although contrary, no doubt, to many ecclesiastical laws, was still grounded, however, in the ancient practice of the English realm, in the constitution of the state, in the laws of nature, and in holy Scripture. We here perceive already the early bent of the man, who made the sacred Scriptures the ultimate standard of all law, and who afterwards declared it to be the great problem of church evolution, to reform everything according to the principles therein contained; as it was, in fact, his endeavours to do this which procured for him the title of *doctor evangelicus*. Such a procedure of Wickliff could not but contribute, in coöperation with the influence of the monks of Avignon, to bring about an adverse decision of his process at that court. So much the more, however, did he by this step recommend himself to those who stood up for the prerogatives of the state. They were at no loss to understand how useful to their cause a man of such zeal, such courage, and such talents might prove, and were therefore the more inclined to give him their support in his bolder attacks on the hierarchy. He was made chaplain to the king;‡ and he at-

* Vaughan, *Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe*, Lond. 1828, tom. I. p. 264, seq. † *Ibid.* p. 270. ‡ *Ibid.* tom. I. p. 277.

tracted, in particular, the attention of the king's brother, the powerful duke of Lancaster. His connection with this duke turned out to be of great moment to Wickliff in his later contests. In the year 1372 he* was made doctor of theology, and now acquired a mighty influence as well by his lectures as by his writings. He daily took still stronger ground against the corruptions of the church, and was carried along from one step to another in his progress as a reformer. His polemics were aimed particularly against the mendicant monks. He was enabled, at first, to attach himself to a general movement of reform, at the head of which stood the government and the parliament itself; and it was well understood on that side how to turn his talents to account. He had already expressed in various ways his complaints of the extortions practised by the Roman court on the churches, of its arbitrary interferences in church elections, its practice of conferring high offices in the church on Italians who were unfit for the spiritual calling, and ignorant of the language and customs of the country. After an effort had vainly been made to remove these grievances by negotiation with pope Gregory XI., an embassy composed of seven persons was sent to the pope in the year 1374 for the purpose of effecting this object, and Wickliff was one of the seven.† This embassy did not visit the seat of the papacy, but met the papal nuncios at Bruges. The negotiations lasted two years; and owing, doubtless, to the mixing in of their own selfish interests by one or two English bishops, it so happened that much less was accomplished than had been intended at the outset. The share which Wickliff took in these negotiations seems not to have been without influence on his development as a reformer, since he was thus enabled to obtain a more intimate knowledge of the spirit of the Roman chancery, of the corruptions springing from that quarter, and of the intrigues prevailing there; and was led to examine more closely into the rights of the papacy, and to come out more vehemently in opposition to it as the principal cause of the corruption in the church. He came to the conviction that the papacy had not its origin in divine right; that the church stood in no need

* Lewis, p. 18, (new ed. p. 21.) † Ibid. p. 29, seq. (new ed. p. 33, seq.)

of a visible head. He spoke and wrote against the worldly spirit of the papacy, and its hurtful influence. He was wont to call the pope Antichrist, "the proud worldly priest of Rome,"* "the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers." He says in one of his papers.† "The pope and his collectors draw from our country what should serve for the support of the poor, and many thousand marks from the king's treasury for sacraments and spiritual things"—which is aimed against the simony encouraged and promoted at Rome. "And certainly," says he, "though our realm had a huge hill of gold, and no man took therefrom but this proud worldly priest's collector, in process of time the hill would be spent; for he is ever taking money out of our land, and sends nothing back but God's curse for his simony, and some accursed clerk of Antichrist to rob the land still more for wrongful privileges, or else leave to do God's will, that men should do without his leave, and buying and selling, &c."‡

Already, in these first public acts of Wickliff, we recognise principles which he did but still further unfold in all his subsequent labours as a reformer. It was to the cupidity of the church that led her to seize upon a foreign secular province, to the superfluity of worldly goods in the hands of the clergy, that he felt compelled to trace the corruption in the church. The aim of his efforts was to bring the clergy to live wholly to their spiritual vocation. They were, above all, to follow the pattern of Christ in poverty, self-denial, and renunciation of the world. The example of their lives should give emphasis to their preaching. Constantly hovering before the mind of Wickliff was that image of the apostles preaching the gospel in poverty; and that other picture which, ever since the time of Arnold of Brescia, had been so often held up by Apostolicals,

* Lewis, p. 32, (n. ed. p. 37.)

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. And certes tho our rewme had an huge hill of gold, and never other man took thereof but only this proud worldly priest's collector; by process of time this hill must be spende; for he taketh ever money out of our lond, and sendeth nought agen but God's curse for his symony, and accursed Antichrist's clerk to rob more the lond for wrongful privilege, or else leave to do God's will, that men shulden do without his lead, and buying and selling.

Franciscans, Waldenses, of the worldliness, pomp, and luxury of the corrupt clergy. Again, he insisted that the clergy, caring only for the good of their flocks, should be content to receive from them whatever might be necessary for the supply of their bodily wants. He reckoned it as a part of their calling to stand up for the rights of the poor. He regarded whatever was given to the clergy, merely for the purpose of ministering to their luxury, as so much taken from the poor. From the first, he was a declared enemy of the begging-monks; as they, on the other hand, were the most zealous and the most influential organs of the Roman hierarchy, which he attacked. They appeared to him the chief promoters of superstition, of the externalization of religion into forms and ceremonies, of the immoral tendencies made safe and secure by false reliances. But let us cite his own words. In one of his pieces, entitled "A Short Rule of Life,"* we find the following address to the ministers of religion: "If thou art a priest, and by name a curate, live thou a holy life. Pass other men in holy prayer, holy desire, and holy speaking; in counselling, and teaching the truth. Ever keep the commandments of God, and let his gospel and his praises be ever in thy mouth. Let thy open life be thus a true book, in which the soldier and the layman may learn how to serve God and keep his commandments. For the example of a good life, if it be open and continued, striketh rude men much more than open preaching with the word alone." He says afterwards, in conclusion: "Have both meat and drink, and clothing; but the remnant give truly to the poor: to those who have freely wrought, but who now may not labour, from feebleness or sickness; and thus thou shalt be a true priest, both to God and to man." He was by no means disposed to lower the order of the clergy in the eyes of the people; on the contrary, he believed that he honoured and exalted it, by exhibiting clearly the true significance of their vocation. Thus in one of his earlier pieces, addressing himself to laymen, he says: "Thy second father is thy spiritual father, who has special care of thy soul, and thus thou shalt revere him. Thou shalt love him especially,

* Vaughan, vol. I. p. 312.

before other men, and obey his teaching as far as he teaches God's will. And thou shalt help, according to thy power, that he may have a reasonable sustenance when he doth well his office." But while it was generally the case that the objective dignity of the priesthood was chiefly held up to view; while this was regarded as something inalienable, and represented as an unconditional object of reverence for the laity; Wickliff, on the contrary, made the veneration which should be paid to the clergy, depend on their personal worth. The sense of religion and the conscience of the laity should no longer subserve the private ends of their spiritual guides; the will of God should be more to them than all else, should be the rule by which they were to judge even of their clergy. But in case the latter fell short of this rule, they were not to exalt themselves, but should seek, in the first place, in love and in humility, to correct the clergy by private admonition. In the same treatise he says: "If thy spiritual father fail in his office, by giving evil example, and in ceasing to teach God's law, thou art bound to have great sorrow on that account, and to tell, meekly and charitably, his fault to him, between thee and him alone." He remonstrated against that worldly spirit of the clergy which led them to engage in business foreign to their calling: "Neither prelates," he says, "nor doctors, priests, nor deacons, should hold secular offices; that is, those of chancery, treasury, privy-seal, and other such secular offices in the exchequer,—more especially while secular men are sufficient to do such offices." In another treatise he complains that "prelates and great religious possessioners are so occupied in heart about worldly lordships and with plans of business, that no habit of devotion, of praying, of thoughtfulness on heavenly things, on the sins of their own heart, or on those of other men, may be preserved; neither may they be found studying and preaching of the gospel, nor visiting and comforting of poor men."* In a manuscript of "Feigned Contemplative Life," he says: "They resemble bailiffs rather than bishops:" they were so far sunk in worldliness, that they could not rebuke the worldly lives of others. It serves to characterise

* Vaughan, vol. I. p. 314.

Wickliff's tendency as a reformer, to compare it, on the one hand, with the later development of the work of reformation in England and of the reformed church generally, and on the other, with the German reformation by Luther; and to notice that one of the first works of his as a reformer, was a detailed exposition of the Ten Commandments,* in which he contrasted the immoral life prevalent among all ranks, in his time, with what these commandments require. We should undoubtedly keep in mind what he tells us himself, that he was led to do this by the ignorance which most people betrayed of the decalogue; and that it was his design to counteract a tendency which showed greater concern for the opinions of men than the law of God. But at the same time we cannot fail to perceive an inclination to derive the whole body of Christian morality from the ten commandments, an inclination to adopt in whole the Old Testament form of the law, which shows itself in his applying the law of the Sabbath to the Christian observance of Sunday. In this work he seems still to have clung to the prevailing views respecting the veneration of saints and of images. But in a homily preached two years later,† and after his return from the above-mentioned embassy to Bruges, he condemns the custom of addressing prayers to the saints, and he does this in connection with a doctrine also grounded in the church teaching of his time, that no man can be certain with regard to others, any more than he can with regard to himself, whether he belongs to the number of the elect. No one ought to be worshipped as a saint unless it be known certainly, by revelation of holy Scripture, that he is incorporated into the community of heaven. He calls in doubt, also, the utility of any such kind of worship. It is characteristic of him, that he does not spiritualize the law of the Sabbath into the Christian sense, but applies it simply‡ to the particular observance of one day, although he acknowledges that, considered from the Christian point of view, the observance of the Sabbath is commemorative rather of the resurrection of Christ, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit, than the work of creation. He points out, as

* Exposition of the Decalogue, Vaughan, vol. I. p. 319.

† Ibid. 320 note.

‡ Ibid. 326.

the duties which distinguish the celebration of this day, devout meditation, the public worship of God, and works of Christian charity. Near the conclusion of this commentary, he rebukes that confidence in outward things whereby man would hush the alarms of conscience. "Many think," says he,* "if they give a penny to a pardoner, they shall be forgiven the breaking of all the commandments of God, and therefore they take no heed how they keep them. But I say thee, for certain, though thou have priests and friars to sing for thee, and though thou each day hear many masses, and found chauntries and colleges, and go on pilgrimages all thy life, and give all thy goods to pardoners, all this shall not bring thy soul to heaven. While, if the commandments of God are revered to the end, though neither penny nor halfpenny be possessed, there shall be everlasting pardon and the bliss of heaven." If Wickliff, in these and many other instances, where he places the moral element in strong contrast with the one-sided bent of an outward piety, and the superstition that made men feel secure in the service of sin, so expresses himself, as if he seemed to place his whole reliance on good works; yet we must not forget that he ever presupposes the connection of all this with trust on Jesus as the only Saviour, and with the practical imitation of him which such trust implies. Accordingly, at the end of his commentary he says: "To suffer for Christ can be no hard requirement, since he has so greatly suffered for us;" and he commends the contemplation of the sufferings through which apostles, martyrs, and confessors have arrived at their present exaltation, as an inducement to endure the evils of the times with resignation and in a triumphant spirit.†

As regards the second matter, the mendicant order of monks, Wickliff, in a treatise directed against them, attacks, in particular, their exorbitant influence at the university; the arts by which they drew over the young men to them. "The friars," says he, "drive the youth from the religion of Christ, in their several orders, by hypocrisy, falsehood, and theft. For they say, before them, that their particular order is holier than any other, and that they shall take a

* Vaughan, vol. I. p. 329.

† Ibid.

higher place in the bliss of heaven than others who are not members of it; and that people of their order would never come to perdition, but would, on the day of judgment, with Christ judge others. And thus they steal away children from fathers and mothers, sometimes such as are incapable of ordination, and sometimes such as, by the commandment of God, are bound to support their elders."* "Hence," says he, "they are blasphemers of God, who confidently advise things of a doubtful character, which are, in the holy Scriptures, neither expressly commanded nor forbidden." He reproaches them with representing their private orders as perfect, as orders founded by Christ. But even on the supposition that some order, or a particular foundation, were more perfect than ordinary institutions, still they would be wrong in their practice; for they could not know but it might prove the means of everlasting perdition to the child which they desired so early to bind to vows of their order, if it should be repugnant to his natural disposition; for it must, as yet, be uncertain for what rank or calling God had destined the child. He disputes the position, that such a way of living was the most perfect imitation of the life of Christ; for Christ had by no means bred himself to such kind of poverty; he had not asked everybody without distinction to give him alms, but received from Mary Magdalene and other pious women and men what was necessary for his subsistence. Christ bade his disciples not to take scrip or purse; these, on the contrary, were used by the begging-monks for the purpose of conveying home whatever they had begged to their monasteries. Christ directed his apostles rather to consider who were prepared to receive the message of the gospel; with such they were to eat and drink, and not to go about from house to house. He adverts to the example of the apostle Paul, who supported himself and his companions with the labour of his own hands; and sought not to obtain gold and silver, nor apparel, from those whom he instructed; thus instructing other teachers, by his example, that in times of distress they should do likewise. He says: 'If any would not work, neither should he eat.' He appeals

* Lewis, p. 5, seq. (new ed. p. 7, seq.)

to the treatise of Augustin, *De opera Monachorum*. He calls it a transgression of Christ's command, when, instead of giving their alms to the poor, the blind, the lame, or the halt, men gave them to a set of hypocrites, who represented themselves as holy and needy, whilst, in fact, they were robust of body, rich in possessions, dwelt in large houses, owned splendid raiment, made great banquets, and possessed many precious stones and treasures.

In addition to his duties as university theologian, Wickliff had also taken upon himself the practical work of teaching and labouring among the people whose religious interests he from the first had near at heart. In the year 1375, he became parish priest of Lutterworth in the county of Leicester; and now laboured alternately as teacher of theology at Oxford, and as preacher and curate at Lutterworth. The zeal with which he discharged his duties as a preacher is proved by the 300 sermons of his still preserved in manuscript.* He attached the highest importance to the sermon as a means of supplying the religious wants of the people. Accordingly he regarded the attempt, from higher quarters, to limit and circumscribe the predicatorial office as a thing standing in direct contrariety to the life of Christ and of the apostles.† Hence he made the sermon a principal thing in the improvements introduced into public worship; and endeavoured to lead the way in this reform by his own example, as well as to encourage the clergy, who followed him in their course of training, to do the same. While he took special pains to get the hearts of Christians interested in works of charity; in bestowing sympathy and relief on the suffering, whether from age, from sickness, or from poverty; in providing for all their bodily wants, yet he describes it as a still nobler and more important work to look after such as were neglected as to their religious wants, and to provide for the welfare of their souls. "Men," says he, "in a sermon on Philippians iii. who love not the souls, have little love for the bodies of their neighbours;" and hence the work of Christian instruction is described as

* Vaughan, vol. II. p. 12.

† He says: Nam prædicationis officium est proscriptum, et officium spoliandi subditos est inductum. Dialog. lib. quat. ed. Wirth, Francof. et Lips. 1753, p. 131.

"the best service that man may do for his brother."* In his Exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Christian man is enjoined "to visit those who are sick, or who are in trouble, especially those whom God hath made needy by age, or by other sickness, as the feeble, the blind, and the lame, who are in poverty. These thou shalt relieve with thy goods, after thy power, and after their need, for thus biddeth the gospel."† In the letter to "Simple Priests," he declares preaching to be the great duty of their office: "for this Christ enjoined on his disciples more than any other; by this he conquered the world out of the fiend's hand." In an unpublished tract against the monks,‡ he says, "The highest service that men can arrive at on earth is to preach the word of God. This service falls peculiarly to priests, and therefore God more straitly demands it of them. Hereby should they produce children to God, and that is the end for which God has wedded the church. Lovely it might be, to have a son that were lord of this world, but fairer much it were to have a son in God, who, as a member of holy church, shall ascend to heaven! And for this cause Jesus Christ left other works, and occupied himself mostly in preaching; and thus did his apostles, and for this God loved them." He cites in proof the words of Christ, Luke xi. 28. In a treatise on the Feigned Contemplative Life,§ he describes it as a temptation of the great adversary, when men allow themselves to be drawn off by zeal for the contemplative life, from the office of preaching. "Before all," says he, "we are bound to follow Christ; yet Christ preached the gospel and charged his disciples to do the same. All the prophets and John the Baptist were constrained by love to forsake the desert, renounce the contemplative life, and to preach." "Ah, Lord!" he exclaims, "what cursed spirit of falsehood moveth priests to close themselves within stone walls for all their life, since Christ commanded all his apostles and priests to go into all the world, and to preach the gospel? Certainly they are open fools, and do plainly against the gospel; and if they continue in this error, are accursed of

* Vaughan, vol. II. p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 13.

‡ "Contra fratres," *ibid.* p. 14, seq.

§ "Of a Feigned Contemplative Life," yet unpublished. *Ibid.* p. 19.

God as perilous deceivers and heretics.”* In his work against the monks, he replies to those who cited the example of Mary Magdalene as a reason for preferring the contemplative life: “The example might be pertinent if the priests were women, and if no command opposed to a life of solitude could be found in Scripture.” From what was usually said respecting the value of the contemplative life, it might be gathered “that Christ, when in this world, chose the life least suited to it, and that he has obliged all his priests to forsake the better and take the worse.” “Prayer,” he remarks, “is good; but not so good as preaching; and, accordingly, in preaching, and also in praying; in the giving of sacraments, the learning of the law of God, and the rendering of a good example by purity of life, in these should stand the life of a priest.”† Wickliff was of the opinion that the preachers connected with a particular church were unequal to the task of providing for the wants of the neglected people. The idea of travelling preachers originated with him. In vindication of this method, also, he appeals to the example of Christ. “The gospel,” he says, “relates how Jesus went about in the places of the country, both great and small, as in cities and castles, or small towns, and this to teach us to profit generally unto men, and not to forbear to teach to a people, because they are few, and our name may not, in consequence, be great.”‡ This idea of Wickliff, however, as is evident from the earlier history of the church, was not entirely new, but was traditionally connected with an idea which had appeared under various forms ever since the close of the twelfth century.

As other men, possessed of the spirit of reform, had, from the time just mentioned, founded spiritual societies, whose members travelled about clad, as they conceived it, after the manner of the apostles, to look after the religious needs of the people perishing through neglect, so Wickliff founded a society of this sort, constituting his school in the more limited sense, who called themselves “poor priests,” and were subsequently called Lollards, a name similar to that of the Beghards, which was also similarly used, to

* “Feigned Contemplative Life,” p. 18. † Ibid. p. 19. ‡ Ibid. p. 23.

denote persons of a pietistic, unchurchly bent. They went about barefoot, in long robes of a russet colour.* Even Wickliff, as it seems, was not wholly free from the mistake of apprehending literally the duty of following the pattern of the apostolic church; and from this point of view he might be led to judge too unfavourably of the arrangement by which parish priests were set over particular churches. We should consider, however, that Wickliff had before his eyes the wicked, arbitrary mode of filling church offices in his time, the influence of bad arts and of simony, and in connection therewith the neglect of a great portion of the people, for whose religious needs no provision at all was made by the great number of bad ecclesiastics and monks. There was some just warrant in these circumstances for the idea of constituting the clergy into a seminary for domestic missions, so that the members without feeling themselves confined to any particular spot, might be ready to go to any place where they might be needed, to help the people in their spiritual distress. We see this bent very distinctly manifested in Wickliff's essay on the question "Why poor priests have no benefices."† Speaking here of the bad system of patronage, and of the bad management of the benefices, he says: "But if there be any simple man who desireth to live well, and to teach truly the law of God, and despise pride and other sins both of prelates and other men, he shall be deemed a hypocrite, a new teacher, a heretic, and not suffered to come to any benefice. If in any little poor place he shall live a poor life, he shall be so persecuted and slandered, that he shall be put out by wiles, and imprisoned or burnt."‡ He states that many great lords, in order to palliate their simony, by which the most worthless of men obtained high offices, pretended that they did not want any money, as a price for the place, but only a

* *Talaribus indutos vestibus de russeto.* Walsingham, *Hist. Angl. in Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, a veteribus scripta*, Francof. 1603, p. 191.

† Lewis, p. 287 (left out in the new edition): Why poor priests have no benefices.

‡ But if there be any simple man, that desireth to live well and teche truly God's law, and despise pride and other sins both of prelates and other men, he shall ben holden an hypocrite, a new teacher, an heretick, and not suffered to come to any benefice. L. 1. p. 287.

present, as, for example, "a kerchief for the lady, or a palfrey, or a tun of wine. And when some lords would present a good man, then some ladies are the means of having a dancer presented, or a tripper on tapits, or a hunter, or a hawker, or a wild player of summer gambols."* He denounces the prelates and lords, who coöperated in these practices, as the allies of antichrist. They would not suffer Christ's disciples to teach his children the law of Christ so as to save their souls. And thus they laboured to banish Christ and his law out of his heritage, *i. e.* those souls whom he redeemed, not with corruptible gold and silver, but with the precious blood of his own heart, which he shed on the cross from glowing love. "Now it is to escape such sins," says Wickliff, "that some poor priests take no benefices. The poor priests were afraid that if they received such particular appointments they should be withdrawn thereby from better employments, from such as would bring more benefit to the church. That was what they had to fear more than anything else; for it concerned directly their own persons; for they had received their whole calling from God to help their brethren, that they might get to heaven, by their teaching, their prayers, and example. And it seemed to them that they could most easily fulfil this vocation by a general curacy of Christian love after the example of Christ and the apostles. They had never been tied down to one particular place, like a chained dog. By this means they could easily deliver themselves from danger, and were enabled to give most assistance to their brethren. So now, the poor priests, when persecuted by the clerks of Antichrist, could flee without let or hindrance from one city to another, as Christ commanded in the gospel. So they could best be present at once and lend their aid, according to the promptings of the Holy Spirit, at any spot where they were needed. In this way priests and laymen, free from all strife, would be joined together in love.† Thus some poor priests had associated themselves together, for the purpose of following to the utmost the example of Christ and the apostles; of labouring where there was the most need, as long as they

* Lewis, p. 289.

† Ibid. 297.

still retained the vigour of youth, without condemning other priests, who faithfully did their duty.

Wickliff, by these labours, had gained a small party in *his* favour, as well as raised up a considerable number of enemies. He well understood what dangers he must encounter by undertaking the work of a reformer, how easily in these times a man might, in fighting against the corruptions of the church, be called to suffer martyrdom. He affirms that it was an invention of hypocrisy to hold that martyrdom was no longer possible, because all were Christians. He who declares the truth which is opposed to their corruption, to prelates—whom he calls satraps—shall not escape their deadly hatred and may therefore die as martyrs. “And so,” he proceeds, “we Christians need not visit the heathen for the purpose of converting them and dying as martyrs; but let us but stedfastly preach the law of Christ, even to the imperial prelates, and straightway there shall be a blooming martyrdom, if we hold on in faith and patience.”* He intimates that many, especially the begging monks, sought his death.† But death could not terrify him, “for,” says he, “I know from the evangelical faith, that antichrist with his blows can only destroy the body; but Christ, for whose cause I fight, can destroy both soul and body in hell. And I know that he will suffer nothing to be wanting of that which is most needful for his servants, when he has freely surrendered himself to a terrible death, and permitted all the disciples who were dearest to him to endure severe torments for their own benefit.‡ The begging monks are here mentioned as his fiercest enemies, and they stood at the head of the opposite party. In the year 1376, they extracted from his lectures, writings, and sermons, nineteen propositions which they marked as heretical, and sent to Rome, that they might there be condemned. These propositions, doubtless, corresponded with the teachings of Wickliff, although when rent from the connection in which they were held forth by him, they sounded more harshly than in their proper place,

* Dialog. p. 126.

† Specialiter cum tanta multitudo fratrum et aliorum vocatorum Christianorum clamant contra tuam sententiam, et mortem tuam multipliciter machinantur. Ibid. p. 189.

‡ Ibid. p. 196.

and were liable to be misapprehended. They related to the unlimited power of the pope; the secular possessions of the church; the rights of laymen over priests; the power of the keys; the conditional validity of excommunication. We will notice the most remarkable of these propositions. "That no political and temporal rule has been bestowed in perpetuity on the pope and the prelates; God himself could not, by his almighty power, bestow such rule in perpetuity on any man and his posterity."* "That the perseveringly righteous had not only the right to possess, but also to enjoy all earthly things."† This is the doctrine so much spoken of, that all right of property, and all power, are things morally conditioned; therefore everything here depends on the subjective worth of the individual—with sin, is lost the title to possess any thing. Such assertions it had been attempted already to find in many church fathers, and such positions created from this time onward a great sensation, and were particularly made use of for the purpose of throwing suspicion on the cause of Wickliff, and afterwards on that of Huss, in a political point of view. When such propositions were taken literally and singly, they could indeed be so understood, as if all right were thereby reduced to subjective opinion, all civil power and all civil property made dependent on the subjective judgment of each man, and uncertain; and as if the watchword were thus given for a general upturning of civil society: but as we shall see, Wickliff, though he uses many blunt and imprudent expressions, guards sufficiently against any such misapprehensions. He is speaking simply of the religious and moral point of view; of that which stood valid in the sight of God, not of the political and juridical point of view. "That when the church fell into corruption, the secular lords had the right to deprive her of the temporal goods which she abused."‡ "That every prelate, and also the pope, when he is wrong, may be accused, judged, and imprisoned by his subjects, even laymen."§ "That only a just excommunication, in accordance with the law of Christ, and none at variance with that law, was binding."||

* Article 2, Lewis, p. 43, (new ed. p. 46.)

† Art. 4.

‡ Art. 17, p. 45, (new ed. p. 48.)

§ Art. 19.

|| Art. 15.

"That an unconditional power to bind and to loose, not even God himself could, by virtue of his omnipotence, bestow on any man."* That Christ gave the apostles no power to excommunicate on account of secular things, but rather the contrary; therefore the pope possessed no such power." "Every priest regularly ordained had power to administer all the sacraments, and also to bind and to loose."

Pope Gregory XI. thereupon put forth, in the year 1377, against Wickliff, three bulls which he sent to England by a nuncio. One of these was addressed to the university of Oxford, the other to the bishops of Canterbury and London, the third to King Edward III.† He pronounced sentence of condemnation on nineteen of Wickliff's propositions, under various qualifications. He marked several of them as agreeing, though not in words, yet in sense, with opinions still earlier held forth by Marsilius of Padua and John of Janduno, and condemned by pope John XXII. He directed the king's attention particularly to the fact that several of these propositions not only contradicted the Catholic faith, but also tended to the subversion of civil order. He complained that such doctrines had been suffered to spread so widely. He commanded that Wickliff should be thrown into chains and imprisoned; that he should be allowed to have a hearing in order to know whether he held forth such doctrines, and in what sense; that his answers should be reported at Rome, and the directions for his further treatment should be waited for from that court. The pope, however, having doubtless been informed that Wickliff had powerful patrons in England, ordered at the same time, that, in case it should be found impracticable to get possession of Wickliff's person, still the bishops above named should sit in judgment upon him, and take care that he should be compelled to pay obedience to a citation to Rome. The papal bulls met with no favourable reception in England, except from the bishops. At the university of Oxford,‡ either sympathy with Wickliff's cause, or a freer spirit in opposition to papal absolutism, and zeal for the rights of the university, made the authorities for a long time doubt-

* Art. 14.

† Raynaldi Ann. 1377, No. 4, tom. VII. p. 294.

‡ Lewis, p. 46, seq. (new ed. p. 49, seq.)

ful, whether they should receive the papal bull or reject it with scorn.*

Meantime, the old king Edward had died, and his son Richard II. succeeded him in the government. The first parliament held under his reign was animated by a freer spirit of opposition to the papal extortions. This tone of feeling would of itself be favourable to Wickliff upon the arrival of the papal bulls. But, in addition to this, the parliament had entered into a sort of alliance with him personally, as the advocate of the independent authority of the state. The parliament deliberated on the question whether they should not refuse the pope the sums which he demanded, unterrified by any threat of the ban. Wickliff was invited to give his opinion. He pronounced in favour of the refusal, and endeavoured to prove the right of it from the teachings of Christ. The parliament decided in conformity with this opinion. The king's brother, John Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and the marshal Henry Percy, were zealous patrons of Wickliff, and approvers of his freer spirit.† Moreover, he already had many adherents among the people, consisting partly of such as were susceptible to the Christian element in efforts for reform, and in part of such as were glad to join in the spirit of opposition, or had their pleasure in movements pointing to something new.‡ Hence no one dared to execute the papal bull literally. Yet Sudbury, archbishop

* That zealous supporter of the papal party, Walsingham, in his historical work, finds much fault with the conduct of the university, whence we may infer what interest was taken in Wickliff's doctrines at Oxford. Walsingham, loc. laud. p. 201, expresses himself thus: *Cujus universitatis moderni procuratores sive rectores quantum degeneraverint a prudentia seu sapientia antiquorum, per hoc facile conjici poterit, quod audita causa adventus dicti papalis nuntii, diu in pendulo hærebant, utrum papalem bullam deberent cum honore recipere, vel omnino cum dedecore refutare. Oxoniense studium generale quam gravi lapsu a sapientiæ et scientiæ culmine decidisti, quod quondam inextricabilia atque dubia toti mundo declarare consuesti, jam ignorantiae nubilo obfuscatum dubitare non vereris, quæ quemlibet e laicis Christianis dubitare non decet!*

† Lewis, p. 51, seq. (new ed. p. 56, seq.)

‡ Walsingham, who would naturally, from his own point of view, trace the favour shown to Wickliff, the heretic, to nothing but an impure, worldly interest, says (p. 191): *Quod domini et magnates*

of Canterbury, and Courtney, bishop of London, set up a court at Lambeth near Canterbury, and Wickliff was summoned to appear before this tribunal.* The matter created a great sensation. Wickliff appeared before the tribunal at first accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and Henry Percy. He was obliged to press his way through a dense crowd, who zealously espoused his cause as that of a martyr for the truth. Percy demanded that Wickliff should be allowed to sit, so that he might defend himself at his ease against the articles of complaint.† That most zealous opponent of Wickliff, Courtney, bishop of London, would not allow this to a person accused of heresy. But the duke of Lancaster took up the quarrel on the side of Wickliff, and thus an exchange of words passed between him and the bishop. Thus was brought about the dissolution of the first session of the court. A second was opened in June, 1378. The court, particularly bishop Courtney, was doubtless inclined to proceed with more severity against Wickliff; but they were held in awe by the power of his patrons.‡ The court was obliged to be satisfied, therefore, after Wickliff had given an explanation of the propositions laid to his charge; in doing which he submitted himself to correction by the church in all cases of detected error; he protested against the imputation of being obstinately bent on defending anything erroneous; he explained the propositions in a milder sense, guarded

terræ multique de populo ipsos (Wiclefitas) in suis prædicationibus confoverunt, et faverunt prædicantibus hos errores. Eo nempe maxime, quia potestatem tribuerunt laicis suis assertionibus ad auferendum temporalia a veris ecclesiasticis et religiosis. Walsingham's words, showing what a spirit of opposition had been aroused among the laity against ecclesiastics and monks, are: Hoc modo.... Wycklef favore et diligentia Londinensium delusit suos examinatores, episcopos derisit, et evasit, . . . quando eas laicorum auribus instillavit, sed nude et aperte ut præscribuntur eas docuit, captans per talia gratiam laicorum, qui libenter audiunt, quæ perversa sunt, præcipue tamen de ecclesia et personis ecclesiasticis, et libentius impelluntur ad damna vel injurias inferenda religiosis et clericis, cum aliqua opportunitas se ingesserit, quæ omnino extat eis desiderabilis et votiva. P. 208.

* Walsingham, p. 205.

† Lewis, p. 52, (new ed. p. 57.)

‡ Walsingham notices particularly the threats of Sir Lewis Clifford, by which they were frightened. He had in a pompous manner bid them be silent.

them against misconstruction, but without recanting any one of them. He says, in the concluding sentences of his declaration, "Far be it from the church of Christ, that the truth should be condemned because it sounds harshly to sinners or to the ignorant; for then the entire faith of Scripture would be deserving of condemnation." Of course the zealots for the hierarchical party were much dissatisfied with the issue of the cause, and saw in it nothing but a yielding up of their cause, on the part of the court, from motives of fear.

Wickliff's health had been shattered by his prolonged and severe labours and contests. In the year 1379 he was afflicted with a dangerous sickness. On his sickbed he was visited by a deputation of four doctors of theology from the mendicant orders, and four senators of the city of Oxford,* who came to wish him the restoration of his health. Then they reminded him of the many calumnies which the mendicant friars had suffered from him, and admonished him, in view of death, to retract what he had said against them. Wickliff, who was too weak to rise from his bed, caused himself to be placed erect by his attendant, and, collecting his last energies, exclaimed to the monks: "I shall not die, but live, and ever continue to expose the bad practices of the begging-monks." They left him, covered with confusion.

The dangers that threatened him, which indeed were still averted by the powerful influence of his friends, and the severe sickness which oppressed him, could not break his courage, nor deter him from the further prosecution of his bold projects of reform. It characterises him as the forerunner of protestantism, that inasmuch as he considered the sacred Scriptures the highest and the only source of knowledge with regard to the truths of faith, and believed it necessary to examine all doctrines and determinations by this standard, he held himself justified in attacking every doctrine that could not be derived therefrom. So he felt it to be his duty to make the Bible, which to the laity was an altogether sealed book, and to the clergy of that age themselves one but little known, accessible to all as

* Lewis, p. 64, (new ed. p. 82.)

the common source of the faith, by translating it into the vernacular tongue.* That Wickliff was not the *only* man filled with this spirit, that the need of a more general knowledge of the Bible was at that time deeply felt *by numbers*, is evident from the fact that shortly before Wickliff, John Trevisa, a parish priest, had undertaken a translation of the Scriptures into the English language. In the year 1380, Wickliff published his translation, a work which, as the controversies in which he thereby became involved plainly show, required a bold spirit, which no danger could appal. Wickliff, it is true, could not produce a Bible in the English language to be compared with the German one afterwards produced by Luther; but we should judge of it with reference to the means then standing at his command. He could not go back to the languages of the original, being ignorant of the Hebrew and the Greek; but he spared no pains, and furnished all that it was possible to furnish with the knowledge and the helps which he possessed. Besides comparing many manuscripts of the Vulgate, he availed himself of the commentaries of Jerome and of Nicholas of Lyra, and whenever these comparisons led him to perceive a difference between the Vulgate and the original, he directed attention to the fact by marginal references. He was now attacked from various quarters, because he was introducing among the multitude a book reserved exclusively for the use of priests. But he stedfastly defended his undertaking, and so expressed himself concerning the right and the duty of laymen to draw directly, themselves, from the word of God, as could not fail to provoke against him still more violent attacks. Characteristic of these times is the way in which Henry Knighton, a contemporary who, in his History of the period, has much to say about Wickliff,† expresses himself on this undertaking. Nothing could furnish a more striking picture of the contrast between the spirit of Wickliff and the hierarchical spirit of the age. We hear almost the same language in this case, on Wickliff's translation of the Bible, as was used afterwards with

* Lewis, p. 66, (new ed. p. 83.)

† *Chronica de Eventibus Angliæ in Histor. Anglie. Scriptor. Antiq.*, Lond. 1652, tom. II.

reference to the version of Luther. Knighton says: "Master John Wickliff has translated out of Latin into English the gospel which Christ delivered to the clergy and doctors of the church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the state of the times and the wants of men, in proportion to the hunger of their souls and in the way which would be most attractive to them." In these words of Knighton we recognise the prevailing view of the better class of clergy, who ever regarded themselves as tutors over the religious consciousness of the laity, and assumed it as certain, that laymen must always be dependent for their religious education on the priests. The latter were to impart to them just so much of the Bible as seemed to them proper and befitting. It was an abuse of the Bible to bestow it all at once upon laymen, who were incapable of understanding it, and hence could only be led by it into error. Knighton proceeds: "Thus was the gospel by him laid more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy; and in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine."* He accuses Wickliff, so far as he attempted to restore the true gospel, of a design to substitute in place of the ancient one a new everlasting gospel,† after the manner of those sects, against which William of St. Amour had written.‡ This crime, he says, was indeed laid to the charge of those Franciscans, but it is far more applicable to the Lollards, who have rendered the gospel into our mother-tongue. In defence of his translation, Wickliff said: "When so many versions of the Bible have been made, since the beginning of the faith, for the advantage of the Latins, it might surely be allowed to one poor creature of God to convert it into English, for the benefit of Englishmen. He appeals to the examples of Bede and of Alfred. Moreover Frenchmen, Bohemians, and Bretons, had translated the Bible and other books of

* *Chronica de Eventibus*, &c. p. 2644.

† *Aliqui laborant ad mutandum evangelium Christi in aliud evangelium, quod dicunt fore perfectius et melius et dignius, quod appellant evangelium æternum sive evangelium spiritus sancti.*

‡ *Vid. vol. IV. of this work.*

devotion into their respective languages. "I cannot see," he says, "why Englishmen should not have the same in their language, unless it be through the unfaithfulness and negligence of the clergy, or because our people are not worthy of so great a blessing and gift of God, in punishment for their ancient sins." To those who saw something heretical in the fact that the Bible was translated into English, he replies: "They would condemn the Holy Ghost, who taught the apostles to speak in divers tongues." He finds fault with the clergy for withholding those keys of knowledge, which had been given to them, from the laity. He styles those persons heretics who affirmed that people of the world and lords had no need of knowing the law of Christ, but it was sufficient for them to know what the priests imparted to them orally.* "For holy Scripture is the faith of the church, and the more familiar they become with them, in a right believing sense, the better." He censures the clergy for taking the liberty to withhold many things contained in the Scriptures, which were against their own interest, from the laity; as, for example, whatever related to the obligation of the clergy to follow Christ in poverty and humility. All laws and doctrines of the prelates were to be received only so far as they were founded on the sacred Scriptures. As all believers must stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, to give account of the talents committed to them, so all should rightly know these talents and their use, in order that they may know how to render an account of them; for then no answer which must be given through a prelate or a steward could be of any avail, but each must answer in his own person. He found it necessary to show that the New Testament was intelligible to all laymen who only did what in them lay to attain to the understanding of it, in refutation of the opinion that a peculiar sort of preparation, which was possible only to the order of priests, was requisite for that purpose.† He extended this universal intelligibility of

* Lewis, p. 68, (new ed. p. 86.)

† Wickliff himself relates, that at the university of Oxford it had been ordered, that priests and parsons should not read the holy Scriptures until they had spent there nine or ten years. But it is well to observe, as characterising the times, what the Franciscan Butler

the New Testament to all things, the knowledge of which was necessary to salvation. The religious and moral state of recipiency, the striving after righteousness, he maintained to be the most important qualification. Whoever, said he, observes gentleness and love, he possesses the true understanding of the holy Scriptures. He styles it a heresy to affirm that the gospel, with its truth and freedom, did not suffice for the salvation of a Christian, without the ordinances and ceremonies of sinful and ignorant men. For the rest, it is worthy of notice that Wickliff allowed himself to be carried, by his reverence for the Scriptures and his earnest endeavours to maintain their sufficiency for all purposes, beyond the measure of propriety, to fail of keeping sufficiently distinct from each other the provinces of religious and of worldly knowledge, and to seek for the resolution of questions, which had no relation whatever to the religious needs and salvation of men, in the sacred Scriptures.*

In the midst of these contests, Wickliff ventured to attack the doctrine of the church on a point most vitally connected with the interest of the church party—an attack, which, in these times, must have exposed him to the greatest peril. He stood forth, in the year 1381, as an opponent of the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was a necessary consequence of the relation, in which the whole bent of his own mind stood to that spirit, from which the doctrine of transubstantiation had proceeded, and which had made it triumphant. He published, in his lectures of the year 1381, twelve conclusions against this doctrine.†

We will, in the first place, consider more minutely his way of thinking on this subject. He attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the *accidentia sine subjecto*, on rational and on exegetical grounds. As regards the latter,

wrote twelve years later. The prelates should not tolerate it, that every man according to his inclination should be allowed to read the Bible translated into English, for this had often proved an occasion of falling into heresies. It was not politic, that every man should, whenever or wherever he pleased, devote himself to the earnest study of the Bible. Lewis, p. 71, (new ed. p. 88.)

* Nulla quidem est subtilitas in grammatica vel logica vel alia scientia nominanda, quin sit excellentius in scriptura. Dialog. p. 23.

† Lewis, p. 77, (new ed. p. 91.)

he appealed to the words of institution, and held that the pronoun "This," supposed the actual presence of the object referred to. The logical refutation connected itself with his realism, by which he was led to assume a oneness of thought and being, a harmony of correspondence between the laws of thought and the laws of creation. Hence, looking at the matter from this point of view, the *accidentia sine subjecto* appeared to him a thing inconceivable and impossible, involving a self-contradiction. In opposing the advocates of this doctrine he says: "They pretend that they annihilate in an instant the world created by God,* because they destroy the primal matter which God decreed should be imperishable; and yet they can make no new thing in this world, save that they fabricate unheard-of miracles,—things which beyond any doubt would be impossible with God (as God's almighty power has no relation to things impossible in themselves).† And as *they* pretend, they make a new world. But we all suppose that God does nothing without a sufficient reason, that he does not destroy a nature which is incapable of sin, that he does not confound the ideas implanted in us by nature,‡ unless some greater advantage or some better reason exists for so doing." "What, then, could induce the Lord Jesus Christ," says he, "so to take away from his worshippers the judgment of reason, when not a particle of good was to accrue from so doing; for it cannot be proved by reason or by Scripture that such an illusion is necessary for men as an *accidens sine subjecto*, when bread and wine remaining would in a more suitable way represent the body of Christ. And there may be body and blood of Christ as well in each point of such a substance, as in any point of such a monstrous accident; and still greater reverence to God would be produced thereby."§ He affirms that it was incongruous with Christ's nature to work a miracle of annihilation: it was contrary to the whole analogy of his miraculous works

* Ponunt enim, quod mundum, quem Deus crearat, statim destruunt. Dialog. p. 191.

† Vid. Wickliff's Doctrine of God's Omnipotence.

‡ P. 193: Omnes admittimus, quod Deus nihil potest facere nisi probabili ratione, nec destruit naturam impeccabilem, nec confundit notitiam naturaliter nobis datam.

§ P. 194.

during his life on earth. Let us cite the characteristic words of Wickliff himself: "They say, in the consecration of the host, they consecrate bread and wine into nothing. But Christ, though he was called by an indolent servant a hard master, never cursed in so hard a style anything that can be named; for, when he cursed the fig-tree, it still continued to exist in its substance; for, far was it from Christ, either on account of sin or an emblem of sin,* to destroy utterly his own creation, and no creature can do anything, unless the agency of the Creator precedes. It is manifest that, although they bless the bread, as they say, to nothing, yet Christ preserves it, because it is his creation."† "The author of these falsehoods," says he, "is not He who spake and it stood fast, but rather that lying spirit, who spake, and it ceased to be." When the determinations of the Lateran council under Innocent III. were cited as testimony in favour of the doctrine of transubstantiation, he replied:—Although Innocent may have taught such an insane fiction as the monks affirm, still this can make out nothing against the truth which is founded on the gospel; for it is from this source all truth must be derived, and especially that truth which relates to our faith.‡ He alludes to the fact that he had sent to the satraps (the prelates) three theses: First, if by the power of those sacramental words, "an accident without a subject" was posited in the sacrament of the altar, then the sacrament itself also was an accident; secondly, there had never, from the beginning, been a more monstrous heresy than this; thirdly, this sacrament was in a natural way true bread, and truly the body of Christ.§

* Dial. p. 198: *Propter peccatum vel figuram peccati*. By the latter phrase he doubtless intended to intimate that the barrenness of the fig-tree was emblematical of the moral barrenness of the Jewish people.

† *Patet, ut consonat, quod licet ipsi benedicant panem, ut false dicunt, in nihilum, tamen Christus, cum sit sua fabrica, ipsum servat.*

‡ *Et esto, quod Innocentius III. deviavit in ista dimentia, ut fratres sibi imponunt; scio tamen ex fide Christi, quod quicquid in materia ista definierit, non debet acceptari a fidelibus, nisi de quanto in lege evangelica est fundatum, cum certus sum ex eadem fide, quod in ista lege omnis veritas et specialiter veritas fidei secundum mensuram, quæ magis congruit, continetur.* Dial. p. 196.

§ Ibid. p. 197.

With regard to Wickliff's own view of the Lord's Supper, it may be remarked, that he contended against every mode of a bodily presence of Christ, every mode of conceiving a strict and proper connection of body and blood with the bread and wine. He contended against that earlier view set forth by John of Paris, of a so-called *impanation*, the view that in virtue of a union of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine, like the union of the two natures in Christ, the predicates of the one might be transferred over to the other. He affirmed that bread and wine are called body and blood of Christ only in a symbolical sense, as in general one thing may, in an improper sense, be called by the name of another. But he regarded it as being not merely a *representative*, but also an *active* symbol for believers; that the symbols were actually that which they represented in a certain relation, *habitudinaliter*, that is, insomuch that believers, who partook of the holy supper with true devotion, were thereby placed in a real union with Christ. He endeavoured to prove this by comparing the language with other similar modes of expression in the Scriptures. "Homely examples," he says, "may be adduced in illustration. It is not required, but contradicts the truth, to say that a man, by becoming a lord or a prelate of the church, ceases to be the same person, when he continues to be the same, although, in a certain sense, more exalted substance. So we should believe that the bread, through the power of the sacramental words in virtue of the consecration by the high priest, becomes truly Christ's body. The substance of the bread is not thereby destroyed but exalted to a nobler substance.* Do we really believe that John the Baptist, when he was by the power of Christ's word made Elias, ceased thereby to be John, or anything that he in substance was before? In like manner, it is not required to say that the bread, although it began to be the body of Christ by the power of his words, therefore ceased to be bread." Both might so subsist together, that Christ might call John Elias, and yet John might say he was not Elias. "For the one means," says he, "that John is Elias in a figurative sense, and the other, that he

* Cum natura panis non ex hinc destruitur, sed in digniorem substantiam exaltatur. Dial. p. 190.

is not Elias in person." After the same analogy the bread, if one speaks in the proper sense, is *not*, and yet, in the symbolic sense, it is the body of Christ; it is only necessary to distinguish the different senses in which a thing is affirmed or denied.* He cites in proof the case that Christ, with a certain reference, is called by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. x., a rock; and that, according to the 41st chapter of Genesis, the seven ears of corn and the seven fat kine were seven fruitful years,—not that they represented, but that they were these years.†

He observes that there are three modes of being, that may be attributed to the body of Christ,—his being in heaven, in the world generally, and in the holy supper. We should not represent the matter as if that which is represented by something else in a certain relation, *habitudinaliter*, came to it by some motion in space, or as if an actual change took place by some process taking place in the thing represented. We should not conceive that the body of Christ descends to the host, which is consecrated in a particular church; but it remains above, fixed and unmoved, in heaven. Hence that body is present in the host spiritually, not dimensionally, as in heaven. Christ is spiritually present, as man, in every part of the world. Yet, in the consecrated host, Christ is present in a far different manner, since he is, *habitudinaliter*, the very host itself. And in relation to spiritual being and potential being he is still, again, differently present in every part of the same. And thus it is evident, that in a twofold respect the body of Christ is in the place of the consecrated host.‡

Thus it may be explained, how Wickliff, in an English confession, could honestly say: "I acknowledge that the sacrament of the altar is verily God's body in the form of bread; but it is God's body after a different manner than that body is in heaven."§ We see how in Wickliff, the denying of the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, under the supposition of a merely spiritual presence, is connected with too sensuous a representation

* Et conformiter non contradicunt, sed æquivocant qui concedunt, quod hoc sacramentum non est, supple, naturaliter corpus Christi, et idem sacramentum est figuratiter corpus Christi. Dial. p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 200. ‡ Ibid. p. 204. § Lewis, p. 285, (new ed. p. 335.)

of heaven, and of the nature of the glorified body of Christ, when he says: "In heaven is his foot in the form of flesh and blood; but in the sacrament is God's body, by a miracle of God, in the form of bread." How it is that although Christ is not corporeally present, yet faith must fasten only on him, he illustrates as follows: "As one thinks not of the material of which a statue is made, whether it be made of oak or of ash, and fixes his thoughts only on that of which it is the figure, so and still more, one should be far from thinking of the species of bread, but he should think only on Christ, and with all the purity, all the devotion, and all the love, which God pleased to give him, reverence Christ; and then he receives God spiritually to more effect than the priest who chants the mass with less charity."*

Wickliff says himself, in a passage of his *Trialogue*, that he was certain of the negatives, viz., that the doctrine of transubstantiation and the doctrine of the *accidentibus sine subjecto*, could not be true; more uncertain of the positive side, how it was necessary to conceive the relation of the consecrated bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ. Hence may be explained how it should happen that he does not always express himself exactly alike on this doctrine. To contend against the sensuous tendency to set forth the spiritual union with Christ as the principal thing, he ever regarded as the point of greatest importance, and this predominant interest in favour of the spiritual mode of apprehension, may, in fact, have led him into many false interpretations. Remarkable is the way in which he expresses himself on this subject, in an English work of his, entitled the *Wickett* (*Door to the Christian Life*).† He here affirms

* Lewis, p. 285, (new ed. p. 335): As a man leeves for to thenk the kinde of an ymage whether it be of oke or of ashe, and settys his thought in him in whom is the ymage: so myche more schuld a man leve tho thenk on the kynde of brede, but thenk upon Christ; and with alle cleness, alle devotion, and alle charitye that God wolde gif him worschippe he Crist, and then he receives God ghostly more meedfully than the prist that syngus the masse in less charity. For the bodely etyng ne profites nouth to soule, but in alsmykul as the soule is fedde with charity.

† Wycklyffes Wycket, whych he made in King Richard's days the second, published at Nuremberg, 1546, then afterwards reprinted at the university of Oxford, 1828, which edition lies here before us.

Scripture does not say that Christ at the institution blessed the bread and wine, but it seems, on the contrary, that he blessed his disciples, whom he had appointed to be witnesses of his life-giving sufferings, and in them he left his blessed word, which is the bread of life; as it is written, that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And so Christ had called himself the bread of life that came down from heaven, and Christ, in the gospel of Matthew (he means, no doubt, the gospel of John), often says, the words which I speak to you are spirit and life. Hence it seems rather that he blessed his disciples, than the bread and wine; for in them was the bread of life left, much more than in the material bread and wine.* For the material bread is a perishable thing, Matt. xv. 17; for the blessing of Christ preserved his apostles spiritually and bodily at the same time; where he cites Christ's promise that no one of his disciples should be lost except Judas. Christ says not this bread is my body, or, that the bread should be given for the life of the world,—where it appears that Wickliff did not refer the pronoun "This" to the bread, but as Carlstadt afterwards seems to have done, to Christ's body.† And in proof of the assertion that all depends here upon the spirit, not upon the flesh, he cites the words of Christ in John vi. 63; and next the words in John xii. 24; "From these words," he adds, "we may perceive that Christ according to the flesh must die, and that in his death is given the fruit of eternal life for all who believe in him.

Wickliff even declares, with great vehemence, his opposition to that doctrine of "the accidents without a subject," which to him seemed so much at variance with the Bible and with reason. He represents it as one of Satan's most cunning manœuvres, to succeed in persuading men to believe this monstrous doctrine. He thus expresses himself

* Wycket, p. 15: Therefore it semeth more that he blessed his disciples, and also his apostles, in whom the bread of lyfe was lefte more then in materiall breade.

† And often the Scripture saith, that Jesu toke breade and brake it, and gave it to his disciples and sayd, take ye eat ye, this is my bodye that shalbe geven for you. But he sayd not this bread is my body, or that the brede shuld be geven for the lyfe of the world.

on the subject in his Trialogue.* The cunning craft of Satan strove a long time to work up this delusion, to mislead the church into this heresy." He represents Satan as saying: "If by my representative the antichrist, I can so far lead astray the faithful of the church, that they shall hold this sacrament to be no longer bread, but an abominable accident, I shall by that very thing lead them afterwards to believe whatever I will." He means that by the same analogy, it might be said to the communities, "In whatever vices a prelate may live, yet this should never be believed of him by the people his subjects. He would say that, by this analogy, those dignities of the clergy which are to be revered by laymen, may be retained in spite of all their crimes, if everything was to be considered as an accident without a subject."

He denominates the adoration of the host a species of idolatry. When it was objected, that this adoration was not paid to the host but to Christ, he replied: "The same may be said of any creature, which according to this doctrine should therefore be adored; for it is certain, that in every creature is the trinity, and that is something far more perfect than the body of Christ.† Yet Wickliff does not reject altogether the custom of adoration in this regard, since he says: "Still we adore this host, according to the faith of Scripture, in a way more safely warranted, and so also the cross of our Lord, or other images made by men."

Wickliff went to such a length in his altogether too dogmatical zeal as to regard this doctrine both as an invention of Satan and also as an error incompatible with the existence of saving faith: and believed it necessary to suppose that those advocates of this doctrine, whom he would not willingly cut off from salvation, as for example, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, venerated by him as a witness for the truth, must, before their departure, have come to the knowledge of this heresy, and repented of it.‡ We recognise here that one-sided dogmatic tendency of protestantism, which is in-

* Lib. IV. p. 201.

† Quia certum est, quod in qualibet creatura est trinitas increata, et illa est longe perfectior quam est corpus Christi. P. 202.

‡ Multos autem suppono seductos fuisse hac hæresi, qui finaliter poenitebant, ut suppono de domino Lincolniensi. P. 198.

clined to lay an undue stress on formal conceptions. But at the same time we should carefully keep in mind, that before men were in a condition to understand the real historical process of development of the religious life and its relation to doctrine, they must have been quite incapable of understanding the relative necessity of certain doctrinal modes of expression for certain times, in a certain spiritual atmosphere, though such modes of expression, objectively considered, may be incorrect.

Having thus thrown a glance at Wickliff's doctrine of the Lord's supper, we now return back to the history. In the year 1381, then, Wickliff put forth the following theses on the Lord's supper: "The right faith of a Christian is this, that this commendable sacrament is bread and body of Christ, as Christ is true God and true man; and this faith is founded on Christ's own words in the gospels." He adverts to the testimony of the church fathers, and characterises this faith as perfectly consonant with reason. He adduces the proofs in confirmation of it from the epistles of St. Paul. He calls upon the secular lords to defend this faith, as they were bound to do on peril of their salvation.

The case, however, was quite different with Wickliff's attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation, from what it had been with his previous contests. When he attacked the tyranny and the vices of the clergy, of the mendicants, he could reckon on a host of allies, even such as did not agree with him in his dogmatic convictions. But here the question related to the weightiest doctrines of the church, the opponents of which had long since been condemned as heretics. The chancellor of the university of Oxford called together twelve doctors, and, with their concurrence, published a solemn judgment, declaring the theses put forth by Wickliff on the doctrine of transubstantiation to be heretical; and the preaching of these views was forbidden on penalty of imprisonment and the infliction of the ban. Wickliff, however, did not allow himself to be disturbed by this proceeding, but boldly told the chancellor that neither he nor any other member of his council would be able to point out anything heretical in him. Then following out his principles respecting the relation of the church to the state, he made his appeal to the king.

Meanwhile, through the spread of Wickliff's principles, and owing to the impulse he had communicated and the influence of his party, which extended in various ways through the different ranks of society, to the very lowest, various foreign, secular, and political elements entered into the fermentation that had been produced, which threatened a catastrophe. There were appearances similar to those which started up amidst the Donatist movements in North Africa, and in the peasant war connected with the German reformation. These movements seem to have sprung up originally independent of Wickliff's influence, direct or indirect, and to have been owing to other causes. The manifold oppressions of the country people called forth powerful reactions, and a little spark might grow into a large fire. The spirit that revolted against oppression brought on a disposition to resist all regular authority, and to reduce everything to a level. These movements do not seem even to have stood so closely connected with the reformatory tendency proceeding from Wickliff as the disturbances of the later peasant war in Germany stood with the ideas diffused by Luther, and misapprehended by some of the people. Still, the reformatory elements set in motion by Wickliff, might enter into combination with reformatory movements of quite another character, relating purely to political matters; and the attacks on the power and rule of a corrupt clergy called forth by Wickliff, might present somewhat the appearance of a common cause. Add to this, that men of a violent and fanatical spirit of reform placed themselves, at this time—like those enthusiasts attacked by Luther in his later days, the leaders of the people in the peasant war—at the head of the excited people, or espoused their cause with visionary expectations. We cannot say that such men had been first roused by the impulse which proceeded from Wickliff, that they had first received and afterwards further developed the seeds which he scattered abroad. A man from whom some great movement proceeds seldom stands alone. Generally there is some common element in the spiritual atmosphere, which brings such men upon the public stage, though minds of a kindred bent show themselves sometimes pure, sometimes the reverse; in some cases, full of good sense; in others, extravagant and

fanatical. So it seems to have been with the reformatory movements and elements of rebellion against the hierarchy which appeared in England at the present time. There was a priest, John Balle, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, not from Wickliff's school, nor first aroused by Wickliff's influence; for, before the latter came upon the public stage, this person had already created a sensation by his preaching.* This man seems not to have started, like Wickliff, from a determinate dogmatic tendency opposed to the dominant church system, but to have embarked in his undertakings merely as a practical reformer. Perhaps he appeared first as one of the preachers of repentance in those times, and vigorously attacked the reigning vices and immoralities of the day, understood how to work on the passions of the people, had many followers, and was thus carried along from one step to another. He inveighed especially against the vices prevailing among the clergy and the nobility. This pleased the people.† He declaimed against the superfluity of wealth among the clergy, spoke of their growing rich at the people's cost. "Tythes," he said, "ought not to be paid to parsons, when those that paid them were poorer than the parsons. Neither ought tythes or oblations to be paid, when it was evident that the laity led better lives than the parson."‡ He seems to have been zealous against the unchastity of the clergy, and probably remonstrated as the representatives of the Hildebrandian reformatory spirit had formerly done, against the practice of allowing illegitimate sons of clergymen to obtain spiritual promotion.§ In all this, as appears evident from what has been said, he presented numerous points of contact

* Knighton says concerning Wickliff's relations with him: *Hic habuit præcursorem Johannem Balle, veluti Christus Johannem baptistam, qui vias suas in talibus opinionibus præparavit. Hist. Angl. Script. tom. II. p. 2644.*

† Knighton, his violent opponent, says of him: *Qui prædicator famosissimus habebatur apud laicos, qui per plura retroacta tempora verbum dei insipienter sparserat, lollium cum tritico immiscendo, laicis nimis placens. P. 2634.* When this opponent says of him, that he mixed tares with the good fruit in his sermons, it would seem that even his enemy must find something to commend in him, which may refer to his practical exhortations.

‡ Walsingham, p. 275.

§ That is, if we may gather this from the words of Walsingham, which, coming from the lips of so violent an antagonist, are not to be taken in

with Wickliff, which, however, is no proof of any farther relationship of spirit, or connection between the two men. Neither is it certain that John Balle, at any later period, embraced Wickliff's doctrines. For when his opponents, who were also the fierce opponents of Wickliff, say that he disseminated Wickliff's doctrines among the people,* still this amounts to no proof that he did so. After having thus wielded an influence over the people for a considerable time, he was finally arrested, and, to their great chagrin, cast into prison at Canterbury. Meanwhile insurrection spread far and wide among the populace. The possessions of the archbishop were attacked. And it is a noticeable fact, though one that has often occurred at other times, that men impelled by a wild spirit of fanaticism, men, who in other respects indulged themselves in every species of abomination, wishing to appear only as champions for justice and liberty, would allow of no theft, no robbery to gratify private avarice. These mobs had attacked a castle belonging to the duke of Lancaster. He was particularly unpopular with them. And yet we have seen that this duke was Wickliff's ancient patron, which shows, again, that there could not have been any connection between these two different movements. On this occasion one of the mob stole a beautiful vessel of silver, which he wished to retain for himself; but his companions tossed him and the vase into the flames, crying, "We are not thieves and robbers, but zealots for truth and justice!"† By this insurrectionary mob Balle was liberated from his dungeon and received with enthusiasm as a martyr. He stood up as a preacher before an audience of thousands, and added fuel to the flame. The multitude wanted to make him their archbishop and chancellor. One sentence in a sermon of his which he preached before a mob composed of two hundred thousand people, characterises the man: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?"‡ He then went on to prove

so literal a sense. Perhaps they state his own conclusion from a fact, rather than the fact as it really was. His words are: *Docuit etiam neminem aptum regno dei, qui non in matrimonio natus fuisset.*

* As Walsingham says: *Docuit et perversa dogmata perfidi Johannis Wicklef.*

† Knighton, p. 2635.

‡ Walsingham, p. 275: *Wahn Adam dalfe and Eve span, who was than a gentleman?*

that by nature all were created equal; bondage had been introduced only by sinful men, subjugating others, in opposition to God's will; for, if it had pleased God to create serfs, he would have determined, in the beginning of the world, who should be a serf and who a freeman. They should consider, then, he said to the assembled crowd, that the time had now come, when, casting off the yoke of servitude, they could enjoy the long-desired liberty. Therefore he exhorted them to behave as men of understanding. And from love to the Father of the house, who purges the field from tares, they should feel bound also to do the same now; first, putting to death the lords and nobles of the realm, then the judges and jurists, next, all whom they knew would in any other way do mischief to the commonwealth. Then, and not till then, would they secure to themselves peace and freedom for the future, when there was equal liberty, dignity, and authority among them all. John Balle afterwards fell a victim to his fanaticism: he was taken prisoner and executed as a rebel. This insurrection of the peasantry, which led to great havoc and destruction, was finally put down by force. Now, although, as is evident, all this was a thing quite foreign from the spirit of Wickliff, yet it was eagerly seized upon afterwards by his enemies as a pretext for connecting the aims and intentions of the so-called Lollards, with the object proposed by those disturbances. Many of Wickliff's disciples among the clergy and the knights, disciples among the clergy who did not conduct their labours with the prudence of their master, and who manifested in their sermons too violent a zeal for reform, may have contributed to this result.

Wickliff himself meddled too much with reform beginning from without, a spirit which passed over, also, to the party he founded. And this circumstance would contribute, still more, to place his cause in a false light. He presented to the parliament a paper, in which he proposed that the king and the realm should obey prelates only so far as, according to the teaching of Scripture, such obedience belonged to the obedience of Christ; because otherwise Christ must obey Antichrist. For there was no neutral ground between Christ and Antichrist. All obedience should be paid solely to Christ; and any act of obedience not paid to him, must

therefore be paid to Antichrist. He cites, in proof, Christ's words: "He that is not for me is against me." That the money of the kingdom should be sent neither to the court of Rome, nor to Avignon, nor to any other foreign power, unless it were proved that men are bound to do so from holy Scripture. That neither a cardinal, nor any other man, had a right to enjoy the fruits of an English church, unless he duly resided there, or was lawfully employed in prosecuting some affair of the realm, which had been approved by the nobles. For he would else not enter in through Christ, but as a disciple of Antichrist; and by human ordinances he would plunder the kingdom, like a robber, among the poor under his power, without returning any equivalent for the money obtained. That the king and the realm should be bound to extirpate the traitors of the realm, and to defend their own against cruel enemies. That the common weal of the realm should not be burdened with inordinate taxes, until the patrimony with which the clergy was endowed was exhausted; for that was all property of the poor, to be used for their benefit in the spirit of charity; as it would be, if the clergy lived in the perfection of primitive poverty. If any bishop or parish priest fell knowingly into the contempt of God, the king was not only warranted, but also bound, to confiscate the temporal goods of such bishop or priest; otherwise he would neglect the realm.* That the king should employ no bishop or priest in secular affairs; as well king as clergyman would otherwise be Christ's betrayer. That the king should cause no person to be arrested because he remained under excommunication, till it should be proved by the law of God that he remained justly under excommunication; for many had been excommunicated through haste and imprudence, in cases where, according to the laws of God and the church, they ought not to have suffered excommunication. To arrest a man, when he did his whole duty, was a work of the devil. The contrary, though its consequences might be neither felt nor cared for, yet reduced the state to great confusion; for an evil which is not felt, and which is therefore considered a trifle and little thought of,

* *Christum regis domini temporalis contemptum ponderans.*

draws after it consequences only so much the more disastrous.*

The insurrection of the peasants had another injurious effect on Wickliff's cause, that in the same year, 1381, the milder archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, was murdered, and William Courtney, bishop of London, a man inclined to more violent measures, one of the fiercest opponents of Wickliff, was appointed his successor to the see of Canterbury. This prelate now took advantage of his power to proceed more vigorously against Wickliff. But the latter appealed to parliament, and in his memorial proposed, that all persons entangled in private religions devised by sinful men, should be left free to adopt, without molestation, the law of Christ alone, which, having been given by Christ to his apostles, was far more perfect than any such religion invented by sinful men. That all who had unreasonably and wrongfully condemned this whole counsel given by Christ should be corrected on account of so gross an error, and the same publicly made known. That tithes and oblations should be given and received to the end which God's law and the ordinances of the pope had determined; and for the same reason they should be taken away, namely, in all cases where they were not used conformably to their original design. Christ's doctrine of the holy supper should be publicly taught in the churches; and the opposite doctrine, which had been set up by accursed hypocrites and heretics, and by worldly priests ignorant of God's law, [*should be rejected.*] The last three words were not found in the MSS. used by Lewis, and are therefore supplied by conjecture.†

Wickliff had, in the mean time, ever since his return from Bruges, become more bold and violent every day in his attacks upon the mendicants. In a paper put forth about this time (1382), he affirms that he could point out fifty heresies, and more, in their orders. He attacked them as promoters of human ordinances to the injury of divine truth. He sought to show that their whole mode of life was one at variance with the example of Christ; that by their vows Christian liberty was abridged; and, in a time

* Walsingham, p. 283.

† Lewis, p. 84, (new ed. p. 98.)

when men were incapable of examining for themselves, obligations were imposed on them which they could not fulfil; that men would thus be diverted from the most wholesome sort of labour after the example of Christ, that of preaching Christ's gospel where it was most needed, without being confined to any single spot. He accused them of disturbing the parish priests in the labours of their calling.* While however, in other contests with this party, Wickliff could reckon upon powerful patrons, the case was altered in this controversy on so weighty a doctrine.

To the duke of Lancaster, Wickliff's old patron, this step of the reformer was extremely unwelcome. It is said that he went himself, in person, to Oxford, for the purpose of advising Wickliff against this course, and of persuading him not to meddle with these things. But Wickliff was not so to be persuaded to give up a particle of the truth which he had advanced; and we see that although he availed himself of such aid of the powerful as might offer itself, in opposing the hierarchy, and although he would gladly have joined himself with the civil power, yet it was far from any thoughts of his, to place reliance on these helps, and to begin the battle on this reliance. He bravely persevered, even when he saw his old patrons declaring against him. Courtney, the new archbishop of Canterbury, convoked on the 17th of May, in a Franciscan monastery in London, a council to examine into Wickliff's affair. The proceedings were interrupted by an earthquake; for which reason Wickliff was wont to call this assembly derisively the earthquake-council.† He regarded the event as a judgment of God in favour of his doctrine. He says, in his later confession:‡ “The council charged Christ and the saints with a heresy; hence the earth trembled and shook, and a strong voice answered in the place of God, as it happened at the time of the last passion of Christ (John xii.), when he was condemned to bodily death.”§ The archbishop, however, encouraged the prelates by explaining the fact as a divine judgment of the

* Lewis, p. 20, (new ed. p. 30.) † Lewis, p. 95, (new ed. p. 117.)

‡ Knighton, p. 2650.

§ Wherefore the erthe tremblide fayland maynnus voys ansverde for God als it dide in tyme of his passione whan he was dampnyde to bodely deth.

opposite kind—a notification that, as nature was purified, by such shocks, of poisonous exhalations, so the church was to be purified of the venom of heresy. By this council a number of Wickliff's propositions were condemned, either as heretical or erroneous; partly, such as he had actually affirmed, for example, on the Lord's supper; on the limits of ecclesiastical and civil power; on what belongs to the right discharge of the duties of clergymen; in opposition to the secularization of the church and of the papacy; on the papal dignity, in its right sense, being conditioned upon the personal character of the person administering it.* The archbishop put forth an ordinance against the Wickliffite doctrines, addressed to the chancellor of Oxford university, to which, however, the university at first paid but very little attention.† But the archbishop induced king Richard to issue a command, directing that all persons who there taught Wickliffite doctrines, should be placed under arrest.‡ Wickliff speaks of the secret plots in London and Lincoln, to kill off the poor priests.§ After this he published a new confession on the subject of the Lord's supper, in which he took pains to guard against the insinuation that he did not acknowledge the true body of Christ in the sacrament; though he by no means retracted his opinions, but so expressed himself that there could be no difficulty in recognising them in this new form. He declared,|| very decidedly, against the doctrine of transubstantiation; inveighed against those whom he calls the sect of accident-worshippers; and after having spoken of the prevailing errors, concludes by saying: "But I believe the truth will finally conquer." He defended himself, in a particular tract, against the so-called earthquake-council. With regard to many of the doctrines which had been condemned there, he could with perfect justice declare, that he had never preached them. Others, which he had really taught, he defended against

* Wickliff says of these judgments of the council, the mendicants have poisoned the kingdom of England at their earthquake-council in London. Dial. 292.

† Walsingham, p. 286.

‡ Wilkins, Concilia Magn. Brit. Lond. 1737, tom. IV. p. 156.

§ Quod tam Londiniæ quam Lincolnæ laborarunt assidue, ad sacerdotes fideles et pauperes extinguendum. Dialog. p. 296.

|| Lewis, p. 272, (new ed. p. 323.)

the imputation of heresy. He cleared himself, for example, from the charge that he had made the objective validity of the sacraments depend on the subjective character of the person who administered them. Sophisters ought to know that even a reprobate might still perform fully the sacramental acts, though it would be to his own condemnation; for they are not the authors of these sacraments, but God reserves in his own hands that divine power on which the efficacy of sacraments depends.* With prayer, however, the case was quite different. In the seventh proposition condemned under his name, the assertion was ascribed to him, that a people may punish their sinning rulers according to their own good pleasure. On this point Wickliff, in defending himself, remarks: "This charge is inserted in calumnation of the poor priests, with a view to make them odious to the secular lords; when the truth is that the poor priests do their utmost to counteract, by the divine law, the insurrection of servants against their lords, and declare to servants their obligation to obey their masters, even though they may be tyrants. In the paper in which he examines the articles condemning his doctrines,† he persists in affirming that, according to the divine word, the king was bound to deprive the clergy of the goods which they abused.

The movements in Oxford induced Wickliff to retire in the same year, 1382, to his parish at Lutterworth. He was there seized with a paralysis. But his courage and zeal suffered no abatement under this affliction. He kept on contending to the very last. Meantime broke out the papal schism of which we have spoken. The enfeebling effect of this event on the papal power was favourable to Wickliff's cause; and he understood well how to avail himself of the divided opinions on the question who was pope, and of the quarrel between the two popes, to back up his attack on the papacy itself, and his arguments against the necessity

* Lewis, p. 96, (new ed. p. 118): Sophisters shulden know well that a cursed man doth fully the sacraments, though it be to his damning, for they ben not autours of these sacraments, but God kepeth that divinity to himself.

† The great sentence of curse expounded, Lewis, p. 99, (new ed. p. 121.)

of a visible supreme head of the church. Accordingly, in a paper on the schism he says :* " Trust we in the help of Christ on this point, for he hath begun already to help us graciously, in that he hath clove the head of Antichrist, and made the two parts fight one against the other. For it is not doubtful that the sin of the popes, which hath been so long continued, hath brought in this division." He says : " Let the rival pontiffs continue to launch their anathemas against each other, or should one of them prevail, in either case a severe wound has been inflicted. He calls upon the emperor and kings to lend their assistance in this cause, to maintain God's law, to recover the heritage of the church, and to destroy the foul sins of clerks, saving their persons. Thus would peace be established, and simony destroyed. He contests the pretended infallibility of the popes, and denies their arrogant pretensions with regard to absolutism and indulgence.† In a work still unpublished, " On the Church and its Government," after speaking of the prevalence of simony in the church, he says : " And so God would no longer suffer the fiend to reign in only one such priest, but for the sin which they had done made division among two, so that men, in Christ's name, may the more easily overcome them both. Evil is weakened by diffusion, no less than good ; and this now moveth poor priests to speak heartily in this matter." In his sermons preached at Lutterworth, he made frequent allusions to the schism : thus in a sermon on Romans xiii. when he says, " The pope is not on Christ's side, who put his soul for his sheep, but on the side of Antichrist, who putteth many souls for his pride. This man feedeth not the sheep of Christ, as Christ thrice commanded Peter, but spoileth them and slayeth them, and leadeth them many wrong ways."

The bull proclaiming a crusade and indulgence, and put forth by pope Urban VI. against his rival Clement VII. in Avignon, afforded Wickliff occasion for many new and fierce assaults on the popes, in which he exposed the unchristian character of this procedure, and the futility of the proclamation of indulgence.‡ In the paper above mentioned

* Vaughan, vol. II. p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 6.

‡ Lewis, p. 99, (new ed. p. 121.)

which contains a criticism of the sentences of condemnation passed on his doctrines, he reproaches the pope for using the banner of the cross, that symbol of peace, of grace, and of charity, to lead men on to the destruction of Christians, from love to two false priests, open antichrists, in order to maintain their worldly state, and oppress Christendom. And he asks: "Why is not the proud priest in Rome willing to grant full pardon to all men when they live in peace, charity, and patience, as he grants it to all who will engage in the work of destroying Christians?" When cited by the pope to appear before his tribunal in Rome, he published a bold letter to him, expressing his views openly. He declares that believing the gospel, as he did, to be the supreme rule, higher than all other laws, he considered the pope as bound above all men to keep this law, being the highest representative of Christ on earth. For the greatness of Christ's representative was not to be measured by the standard of worldly greatness, but by the degree in which a person represents Christ by a virtuous life. He supposes that Christ, during his life on earth, was the poorest of men. No Christian should follow the pope or any saint in heaven, except so far as such an one follows Christ. "For," says he, "James and John were in error, and Peter and Paul sinned." He exhorts the pope, therefore, to surrender his secular rule to secular lords, and he would soon induce all his clergy to do the same; for so had Christ done and taught his disciples to do, till the evil fiend blinded this world. So far as it depended on himself he was ready to go to Rome; but Christ had bid him do the contrary, and taught him to obey God rather than man. "And I hope," he writes, "of our pope, that he will be no antichrist nor act in direct contradiction to the will of Christ; for if he cites me against reason, and this unreasonable citation is followed up, then he is an open antichrist." An honest intention did not suffice to excuse Peter, nor prevent Christ from calling him Satan; so in the present case a blind intention and bad counsel would not serve to excuse the pope. But when he required poor priests to undertake a journey which was beyond their means, this could not be excused by the pious intention, nor so as to prevent his being called antichrist. God

tempts no man beyond what he is able to bear; why should a man require such a service from another? "Therefore," he concludes, "we pray God in behalf of our pope Urban VI., that his holy purpose of old may not be hindered and frustrated by the fiend. And Christ, who cannot lie, says, that the fiend of man is in his own house."*

While Wickliff was hearing mass on the day of the Holy Innocents, in the year 1384, in his church at Lutterworth, he fell down just as the host was elevated, struck by a violent shock of apoplexy; his tongue was so palsied that he could not speak till he died. This event took place on Silvester eve.

We will now proceed to the exposition of Wickliff's doctrine. His philosophy and theology were closely interwoven: accordingly the antagonism of realism and nominalism entered deeply also into his theology.† Nominalism, in fact, appeared to him something heretical. It was by reason of this false confounding together of the provinces of philosophy and theology, that he accused the Nominalists of necessarily misrepresenting the truth of holy Scripture; since in the history of the creation of the species, they could not receive the account in its true sense, but must understand it as speaking of *names*, without real substance.‡ He took ground decidedly against those, who held to an opposition between truths philosophical and truths theological. He calls it infatuation to assert that any light of nature is at variance with the light of faith, so that in the light of faith it may be necessary to believe what in the light of nature is impossible. He held that such blindness was in reality no *light* of nature, but darkness; since two such contradictory lights could not possibly exist together.§

* Lewis, Letter of Excuse to Pope Urban VI. p. 283, (new ed. p. 333.)

† In support of his doctrine of the reality of general conceptions he appeals to Aristotle; still more profound, however, appears to him Plato's doctrine of ideas. He says: *Certum est, quod sunt universalia ex parti rei testificata tam ab Aristotele, quam Platone. Licet Plato subtilius ascendit in universalia idearum.* Dial. p. 41.

‡ *Et species in Mose sonuerat in principio libri sui, vocans rerum creaturarum principia species et genera, ut patet in principio genesis, quam indubie species intellexit non esse terminos, vel conceptus, sicut somniant hæretici, exponentes fidem scripturæ ad sensum, quem spiritus sanctus non flagitat.* Ibid. p. 42.

§ *Quia non talia duo lumina repugnantia.* Ibid. p. 16.

But since the fall, a certain imperfection cleaves to the weak light of nature which God graciously remedies by imparting his own knowledge to mankind. And accordingly one man discovers by the light of nature, what another comes to know by the light of faith. Starting from his realism, Wickliff affirms a correspondence between truth in *thought* and *being* as it is grounded in God. Men may frame to themselves many thoughts which do not correspond to being;—thoughts of things which are in themselves impossible; but these are no true thoughts. There is no actual reception of the substance of such thoughts into the soul, but a reception merely of their signs, a presentation of mere words. He distinguishes, as a realist, the *intelligere res* from the mere *signa rerum, verba cogitans*.* But this cannot be transferred to God. Everything posited in his ideas is in ideal being one with himself;† hence that only is possible which is actual, though men may conceive of many things as possible, which, in fact, are not possible.‡ Men may represent to themselves many monstrous things, to which no ideas in God correspond; but God can know nothing which is not God himself, or in some way ideally represented in God.§ Everything positive in the creature must be referred to God; God himself produces it, though not in the form in which it is produced by finite creatures.|| He defends, against Aristotle, the Platonic doctrine of ideas. He finds in Aristotle a misapprehension of the nature of ideas, since by them is not to be understood anything self-subsistent; the term, in his view, denotes the form in which God knows things, the *intellectualitas creaturæ*. The idea is, in its essence, God himself; in its form, it is the mode in which God knows created things.¶ With his

* Sed quamvis homo vel diabolus possunt intelligere sic erronee, cum nec sua intellectio nec apparentia terminatur ad rem apparentem vel intellectam extra signum. Dial. p. 116.

† Ibid. p. 8.

‡ He supposes quod est and quod potest esse to be identical, quia omne quod habet esse intelligibile, est in Deo. Omne significabile foret secundum esse intelligibile ipse Deus.

§ Deus non potest quicquam intelligere, nisi sit ipse Deus, vel in Deo aliquo modo ideatum. P. 10.

|| Deus facit omne positivum, quod creatura sua fecerit, et tamen ex hoc non sequitur, quod comedat, loquatur et ambulet cæt. P. 14.

¶ P. 25: Idea est essentialiter natura divina, et formaliter ratio, secundum quam Deus intelligit creaturas.

doctrine of ideas accordingly is connected the proposition, that whatever is possible is actual.* He denies the existence in God of any such distinction as that of power or faculty and action; omnipotence, therefore, relates only to what actually takes place. And as God can produce nothing in himself which he does not actually produce, so he can produce nothing without himself which he does not actually bring forth in its proper time.†

We see in Wickliff the tendency of reform combined with an Augustinianism which went far beyond Augustin himself in its polemical hostility to everything that seemed verging on Pelagianism; to all worth or ability on the part of the creature; and which, in fact, amounted to the denial of free-will. A one-sided religious element in Wickliff here united itself with his stern speculative consistency: we meet with elements which in their logical evolution would have led to pantheism. Everything, according to his notions, enters as a part necessarily into the fulfilment of the decrees of predestination. This excludes all conditions. No falling away from grace, therefore, is possible, because grace is a thing grounded in the divine predestination; although for a transient moment a predestinated person may sin, and for a transient moment a reprobate partake of grace. In the developments of time, the fact that the one is a *præscitus*, the other a *prædestinatus*, is conditioned on the sinful life of the one and the pious life of the other; but the original eternal ground of all is still the divine predestination, which is made actual by all temporal instrumentalities; for all is grounded in the divine ideas, which are one with God himself. To the harmony of the world, to which God makes everything relate, belong, according to the notions of Wickliff, both good and evil.‡ It may be conceded, that many *præsciti*

* Deus nihil intelligit, nisi quod existit, dum potest existere, et sic omne quod existere potest, existit. Dial. p. 26.

† Sicut Deus ad intra nihil potest producere, nisi absolute necessario illud producat, sic nihil ad extra potest producere, nisi pro suo tempore illud producat. P. 28.

‡ Ita concedendum videtur, quod temporale sit causa prædestinationis æternæ, præcedente tamen causa æterna, tam ex parte Dei taliter ordinantis, quam ex parte futuritionis creaturæ taliter ordinatæ. Ibid. p. 74.

find themselves in the state of grace in their present righteousness; and that many *prædestinati* grievously sin in their present state of unrighteousness; but the *præsciti* never find themselves in the position of final perseverance, nor the *prædestinati* in that of final obduracy. On this ground, he rejects the *meritum de congruo* as an unscriptural fiction, something still worse than the doctrine of Pelagius.*

It is plain that from Wickliff's doctrine follow unconditional necessity,† and the denial of free-will and of contingency. Still Wickliff would not throw back the causality of evil upon God.—Evil, as such, is whatever is not grounded in the divine ideas. It is known of God precisely as that which is not grounded in His ideas—*per carentiam ideæ*; as darkness is known by light, and as the absence of light. Still nothing is thereby gained for moral contemplation. Evolving that which is contained in the thought, it would follow from it that evil, as evil, has for God no existence at all: but looked at from the standing-point of the idea, all is necessary as belonging to the harmony of the world. Wickliff himself confesses the mischievous practical consequences to which his doctrine of unconditional necessity would lead. But his iron mind refuses to be frightened by such consequences. He says: "The wicked may, no doubt, find occasion from this doctrine to do many wicked things, and if it be in their power will actually do them. But it is unknown who those are; just as it is unknown to me but that some person will necessarily dash out my brains, and then grossly plead, in excuse, that as the thing was necessary, he could not have helped it. But I will tell thee, for so irrational a deed he is necessarily guilty."‡ Accordingly, all sin appears to him a necessary thing; and so the punishment of sin. All is required in order to the beauty of the universe.§ The whole

* Dial. p. 101.

† Among the 45 articles attributed to Wickliff, the proposition, *Omnia de necessitate absoluta eveniunt*, might justly be condemned as one actually belonging to him.

‡ Ibid. p. 165.

§ *Verumtamen illa concessa sequens est, quod omnia peccata mundi de necessitate evenient, et per consequens, quod omnes peccatores secundum formam, qua Deus decreverat, punientur, et totum hoc facit ad pulchritudinem universi.* Ibid. p. 148.

multitude of the lost will serve to enhance the glory of the blessed.* God is none the less free, for doing anything in a way which is unconditionally necessary; as, for example, in the generation of the Son, and in the procession of the Holy Spirit. This agency, however, in the essence of God, is necessarily an eternal one; and the facts which result from it are in time. So far as this goes, they may be styled contingent.† It is an advantage of Wickliff's realistic bent, leading him to affirm, that everything possible must at some time be actual, that it enables him to put aside the idle questions of the later scholasticism about mere possibilities. "And thus we are freed," says he, "from many superfluous speculations, with which the heretics (among whom he classes the Nominalists) torture themselves in regard to certain supposable cases. It is more wholesome to study settled truths than idly to lose ourselves in mere fictions, of which we cannot prove the possibility, nor that they or the knowledge of them can be of the least benefit to man; while many settled and profitable truths still lie hidden from man."‡

The true protestant principle comes forth in Wickliff when he ascribes the whole work of salvation to Christ alone. He expresses it in opposition to the worship of saints. There is no saint in word or deed deserving of praise, except so far as he has derived all that for which he is praised from Christ.§ "Hence our church,||" he says, "has this reasonable custom, that when a saint is invoked, she addresses the prayer to Christ; not principally to that saint, but to Christ." Nor is the festival of a saint to any purpose, except so far as it tends to magnify Christ, excites the soul to adore him, kindles in it the love of him. When, therefore, the observance of a saint-day deviates from this end, the motive must be avarice or some other sin. Hence

* *Totus numerus damnatorum cedit mundo ad profectum et gloriam beatorum.* Dial. p. 154.

† Ibid. p. 166: *Et patet, quod Deus non illibetatur quodcumque facere, licet absolute necessario illud agat, sicut non illibetatur producere verbum vel Spiritum Sanctum, licet absolute necessario illud agat. Actio tamen ista ad intra necessario est æterna, et factio est temporalis. Ideo dicitur, quod factio est contingens.*

‡ Ibid. p. 164.

§ Ibid. p. 171

|| P. 172.

many are disposed to think that all those festivals should be abolished, and the festival of Christ alone remain ; for thus Christ would be kept in more lively remembrance, and the devotion of the faithful would not be so improperly distributed between Christ and his members. Foolish must he be who, instead of clinging to Christ alone, seeks the mediation of some other. "For Christ," says he, "ever lives near the Father and is the most ready to intercede for us, imparting himself to the soul of every wayfaring pilgrim who loves him. Therefore should no man seek first the mediation of other saints, for he is more ready to help than any one of them." The soul must be distracted by the multitude of the blessed, to which it turns, the strength of the feelings for Christ must be weakened, as it is but a finite thing. It may likewise turn out, that the foolish devotee is worshipping a canonized devil. "When only Christ is invoked, the other saints, at his bidding, help with their spiritual intercessions ; and, however much they may be worshipped apart, still they will assist none except in the measure they are commanded to do so by Christ. It seems a folly, to leave the fountain which is assuredly more ready to bestow itself on every one, and turn away to the distant and troubled brook ; and especially where faith does not teach that such a brook originates in the living fountain."* At least, then, those saints only should be worshipped, who are known to be such from the word of God. He is opposed to particular churches taking pains to procure the canonization of their saints from the Roman see, a practice which he traces to avarice or the want of faith. "Who," says he, "would ever think of employing the interests of some court fool to obtain an interview with the more accessible and more gracious king himself? The saints in heaven are no court fools ; but, incorporated by the grace of their Saviour with Christ, they are still infinitely less, in comparison with him, than the court fool is to his earthly prince."† It were foolish, on a dangerous journey, to leave the straight and sure highway, and strike into some unsafe and unknown by-path ; inasmuch, then, as the life of Christ and his rules are plainly open for our

* Dial. p. 174.

† Ibid. p. 180.

inspection, it would seem as if we must consider the contemplation of the life of others as of far less account. He calls the canonization of saints, expressing doubtless his own opinion, though he speaks of it as the view of many, a blasphemous thing; since without direct revelation no man can be certain about it. The miracles by which it was pretended to defend the canonization of saints, he puts down as delusions; for the devil, who can clothe himself as an angel of light, might perform still greater miracles in the person of a departed reprobate. The devil never sleeps; and he deceives the people whenever he can; hence many, thus led astray, honour a new-made saint more than the Lord Jesus Christ.

Adopting the common definition of a sacrament, *invisibilis gratiæ forma et causa*, Wickliff remarks: "Every visible creature is also a sacrament, since it is a visible form of the invisible grace of the Creator, exhibits the image of his ideas, and may become to creatures a cause of invitation and of knowledge. Even a sermon would, in this sense, be a sacrament, since it is to the hearers a sign of holiness. He thinks that many signs might be cited from Scripture which could be called sacraments with as much propriety as the seven.* "In the times of the old Covenant," he says, "the church, like a virgin still in her youth, had to be educated by many sensible signs; but, with the growth of the church in the times of the law of grace, we are relieved from the necessity of giving so much heed to such signs." He finds a threefold abuse of signs in his own time: First, that signs of the old Covenant were observed, which had been abolished. Secondly, a wanton coquetry with signs. There were many who showed such careful solicitude for these signs, which had no foundation in Scripture but were mere human inventions, that they would sooner transgress one of the ten commandments, than deviate from them in the least. Thirdly, overloading the church which Christ intended should be free, with such figures, even beyond what had been done in the church of the Old Testament. Avoiding this threefold abuse, the church should retain the moderate use of those signs in

* Dial. p. 181.

particular which had been instituted by Christ. Baptism, for example, was a sign instituted by Christ; and is necessary, because in this our state of pilgrimage, we are without clear knowledge, and need to be guided in the right way by such figures.* Confirmation, he represents as a calumny against God, since it is affirmed by it that bishops give the Holy Spirit in a new way, or confirm the giving of it. But this means, giving more than the Holy Spirit. The apostles (in Acts, ch. viii.) only prayed that those who believed might receive the Holy Ghost. He says:† “I boldly affirm, that in the early church, in the time of the apostle Paul, two orders of the clergy were sufficient, priests and deacons; in the time of Paul, bishop and presbyter were the same.” Also in his Dialogue, he asserts that reason, as well as God’s word, requires that while the wants of the clergy should be provided for, they should not be overburthened with temporal things, because these temporal things were of no use to the possessors, except as applied to the ends of their spiritual calling. The greater the poverty under which an evangelical man discharged his vocation, the more acceptable he was to Christ, other things being equal. It seemed probable to him that Silvester and others, in accepting the dotation, grievously sinned. But we may suppose that they afterwards did fruitful penance.‡ He maintains that princes were not only authorised, but bound, on pain of damnation, to deprive the church of all her misappropriated secular goods: since they ought to repent of their own folly, and do satisfaction for the sinful act by which they had defiled the church of Christ.§ Was it objected that they had vowed such gifts to the church? he replies: a vow at variance with duty is not binding; as, for example, if a man has vowed to kill his brother, is he bound to perform that wicked deed? He declares heartfelt repentance and confession of sins before God to be the main thing on which all depends. Auricular confession he

* Dial. p. 215.

† Ibid. p. 225.

‡ Ibid. p. 234.

§ Ibid. p. 237: Quod nedum possunt auferre temporalia ab ecclesia habitualiter delinquente, nec solum quod illis licet hoc facere, sed quod debent sub pena damnationis gehennæ, cum debent de sua stultitia poenitere et satisfacere pro peccato, quo Christi ecclesiam macularunt.

holds to be salutary, but not absolutely necessary.* He contends against the doctrine of the *thesaurus meritorum supererogationis*, which laid the foundation for indulgences. He styles it a gross blasphemy; and remarks upon it† that neither the pope nor Christ can deal otherwise with souls, or otherwise grant remission, than as God has eternally ordained in his righteous counsels. But it is not proved that the pope, or any other one, has any just reason for so doing. Then he asks, in what member of the church does this merit reside? If it is in Christ and his members, then it would seem strange that the pope should have power to deprive the subjects of that which belongs to them; *first*, because the accident cannot exist separate from its subject; *secondly*, because they have verily received their full recompense in exact proportion to their desert. How, then, can the pope wrong God and them by any such pretended purloining? Finally, by the same principle, the pope has power, by the authority thus conceded to him, of saving all; and therefore it would be his fault if one individual, living in his own time, should go to perdition.

He affirms, that after the first thousand years, Satan was let loose for the next thousand, and that then the church declined remarkably from the imitation of Christ.‡ Hence arose the efforts of pious men to bring about a reformation, men who sought to restore the living imitation of Christ. Among these he reckons the efforts of Dominic and Francis, in whom, however, he deplors the lack of Christian wisdom; and he remarks that afterwards hypocrisy and impure motives soon crept in. If the order of Knights Templar was abolished on account of its degeneracy, how much more ought these orders to be abolished?§ He complains of the pharisaical spirit of his age: || “I turn,” says he, “to our Pharisees. The eyes of our private religion are too much dazzled by that pharisaical pride. For a bodily fast is prized more highly, or its non-observance, which can be noticed, is more regarded, than *spiritual* fasting. Therefore, from the folly of those orders, Lord, deliver us!”

In the writings of Wickliff, we meet with a remarkable

* Dial. p. 251.

§ P. 284.

† Ibid. p. 278.

‡ Ibid. p. 280.

|| P. 144.

prophecy of Luther's reformation, where he states that from monachism itself would go forth a reaction, founded in the very essence of Christianity, against the monastic life, and to the renovation of the church in the spirit of Paul. "I suppose," says he, "that some brothers, whom God may vouchsafe to teach, will be devoutly converted to the primitive religion of Christ, and abandoning their false interpretations of genuine Christianity, after having demanded or acquired for themselves permission from Antichrist, will freely return to the original religion of Christ; and then they will build up the church like Paul."* Thus he expresses the expectation, that a return to the true way of following Christ, would proceed from the bosom of monachism itself, that its friends would obtain liberty from the popes to live in their own way, or would find means of conquering that liberty, and this would be the commencement of a renovated church, purified from the Jewish leaven, a church in the sense of the apostle Paul.

Wickliff was still entangled in the old scholastic views of the doctrine of justification. He gave especial prominence to the subjective side of this doctrine; and hence he agreed with Augustin and the schoolmen on this point, that no one could have certainty whether he belonged or not to the number of the elect. It is evident that in his case, as in that of Augustin and the Thomists, this might be held in perfect consistency with his referring everything to grace alone, and placing freewill utterly in the background. And hence, too, Wickliff may sometimes give prominence to the trust of a Christian in the consciousness of his own pious life, though he regarded everything in that life as being but a work of divine grace. Accordingly he says: When God rewards a good work, he crowns his own gift. Hence, too, we may with Vaughan,† compare Wickliff with Luther, in his views of the doctrine of justification. But trust in the redemption by Christ is, in truth, made the central point also by the scholastic theologians of the 13th

* Dial. p. 271: *Suppono autem, quod aliqui fratres quos Deus docere dignatur, ad religionem primævam Christi devotius convertentur, et relicta sua perfidia sive obtenta sive petita Antichristi licentia redibunt libere ad religionem Christi primævam, et tunc ædificabunt ecclesiam sicut Paulus.*

† II. 359.

century. Yet, in making this subjective conception of justification his point of departure, and deriving everything from the divine fellowship of life with Christ, he came to a more profound and spiritual conception of the church, as an inward unity to be traced to the same common inward fact, in contradistinction from the outward unity contended for on the position held by the church. "Holy Church," he says, "is the congregation of just men for whom Christ shed his blood ; and not mere stones, and timber, and earthly dross, which the priests of Antichrist magnify more than the righteousness of God and the souls of men.* So he declaims against those who, when men speak of holy church, understand thereby prelates and priests, with monks, canons, and friars, and all men who have tonsures, though they live accursedly, and never so contrary to the law of God. And he contends against the distinction which, from this point of view, was made between spirituals and seculars.† "Those people," he says, "would not reckon as belonging to the church the *secular* men of holy church, though they live never so truly according to God's law, and die in perfect charity. Nevertheless, all who shall be saved in the bliss of heaven are members of holy church, and no more." So from this position he combats the hypothesis of the necessity of a *visible* head of the church. "Prelates," he observes, "make many new points of belief, and say it is not enough to believe in Jesus Christ, and to be baptized—as Christ says in the gospel by St. Mark—except a man also believe that the bishop of Rome is the head of holy church. But certainly no apostle of Jesus Christ ever constrained any man to believe this of himself. And yet they were certain of their salvation in heaven. How, then, should any sinful wretch constrain men to believe that he is head of holy church, while he knows not whether he shall be saved or lost?" A bishop of Rome might possibly be one of those who are to be condemned for their sins ; and in this case men would be compelled to regard a devil of hell as the head of holy church. He makes the *true* conception

* Dial. II. 279.

† In his work not yet published : Of Prelates. Vaughan, tom. II. p. 279.

of a vicar of Christ to rest on the personal imitation of Christ. In one who exhibits the contrary character, he sees not the vicar of Christ, but rather Antichrist; as he says:* The pope is the chief Antichrist, for he himself falsely pretends that he is the most immediate vicar of Christ and most resembling him in life; and, consequently, the most humble pilgrim, the poorest man, and the farthest removed from worldly men and worldly things; when, however, the fact generally is, that he stands first in the opposite sins. He says in one of his last sermons:† “So long as Christ is in heaven, the church hath in him the best pope, and that distance hindereth him not in doing his deeds, as he promiseth that he is with his always to the end of the world. We dare not put two heads, lest the church be monstrous.” The Head above is therefore commended as alone worthy of confidence. As he divided the church into three parts—preachers, defenders, and labourers, so he describes the clergy in particular as persons whose office is to teach; for it is characteristic of him to seize the clerical office on this *particular side* of it, as the preaching office. Preachers should set an example to all of walking after Christ; they should be nearest to Christ, and nearest heaven, and fullest of charity.‡ But the manifold gradations of rank among the clergy he held to be utterly foreign to Christianity. Difficult as it then must have been, he could look at the apostolic age, with sufficient freedom from prejudice to see that these distinctions were of later origin, that at the beginning there was but *one* order of presbyters. There should be but one spiritual order, he supposed. Originally there were only priests and deacons; but the fiend, he remarks, has changed this part to many colours, as seculars and religious. And these have both many parts, as popes and cardinals, and bishops, and archdeacons, etc. Hence have arisen sectarian animosities and the spirit of domination: all this had come of men’s forsaking the rule of the New Testament, according to which it were better that there should be but one order.§

* Dial. p. 130.

† Ibid. p. 308.

‡ Vaughan, tom. II. p. 273, note.

§ Ibid.

II. THE MOVEMENTS OF REFORM IN BOHEMIA.

1. *Forerunners of John Huss.*

THE great reformatory movement in Bohemia dates back to Miltitz, the individual who gave the first impulse to it. We see his influence continuing still to operate through his disciples, Matthias of Janow and John Huss. Miltitz came from Cremsia in Moravia. He was appointed archdeacon to the cathedral church in Prague, enjoyed a handsome income, and stood high in the esteem of the king of Bohemia, and of the emperor Charles IV., whose secretary and chancellor he was, and whom he attended when he went abroad, as, for example, in his journey to Germany.* Even then he was distinguished for his untiring, pious zeal for the salvation of souls, for his self-sacrificing, disinterested charity. He devoted himself with an earnest spirit to the duty of church visitations, and when employed on this service declined the support he was entitled to from the parish priests, defraying his own expenses without living at the cost of any one.† His piety had a tinge of ascetic austerity; a thing not uncommon in the most different periods, with persons of a serious, devout spirit, who, from grieving over the corruption of their times, and from disgust at the worldliness of a clergy sunk in luxury and ease, naturally fell into this peculiar bent. With his pastoral visitations he was in the habit of uniting exercises of penance, wearing a rough hair-shirt, or sometimes two next to his skin.‡ But the ardent zeal of this good man could not be satisfied with these labours. He felt himself impelled to take a more earnest interest, as a preacher and pastor, in the poor, forsaken people, whose necessities seemed to require it.

* Vid. Franz Palacky *Geschichte von Böhmen*, 3 Bd. 1 Abthiel, Prag. 1845, p. 164.

† See the *Life of Miltitz*, by one of his disciples, which the Jesuit Balbirus has published in the *Miscellaneis Hist. Regni Bohemiæ*, Pragæ, 1682, decadis I. lib. IV. pars II. tit. 34, p. 44.

‡ The words of his disciples in the biographical sketch mentioned in the preceding note, p. 45: *Statim cœpit in cilicio peragere pœnitentiam, et quando iter alicujus partis arripiebat, tunc duo cilicia caute et secrete cognato suo clerico, nomine Stephano, quasi pro majori suo thesauro studiose recommendabat custodienda.*

This was a duty which he supposed he had yet to learn; his life appeared to him to be still too worldly. He felt himself moved to renounce splendour, honour, comfort; to strive after a closer imitation, even to the letter, of the life of Christ and the apostles. This idea, of whose influence in these times we have often had occasion to speak, the idea of following Christ in preaching the gospel in poverty and humility, had taken possession also of the heart of this devout man. He therefore resolved to resign his present post, and give up his whole income. In vain did the members of the cathedral chapter try to dissuade him from carrying this resolution into effect. In vain did Ernest, the archbishop of Prague, who felt unwilling to part with such a fellow-labourer, say to him, "What better thing can you possibly do, than to stand by your poor bishop in his watch over the flock?" He retired, in the autumn of 1363, to the little town of Bischofteinitz, in the Pilsen circuit, where he spent half a year in the capacity of an assistant to the parish priest, zealously labouring as a preacher and curate. The priest owned a fine garden, stocked with fruit-trees. Militz felt himself strongly attracted to this spot. But the stern man, stern and severe to himself, looked even upon this as a temptation of Satan. Thou art come here; said he to himself, not to enjoy thy ease, but to work, to look after poor souls; and he denied himself the relaxation of the garden and the enjoyment of its fruit.

Having disciplined himself in this way for half a year, he returned to Prague; and without accepting any particular office to which a salary was affixed, he began to preach to the people in the language of the country, first at St. Nicholas in the Klein quarter, then at St. Ægidius in the old town. His novel and simple way of preaching met, at first, with but little favour.* He was derided on account of his pronunciation, and his want of readiness in repeating certain liturgical forms, and in announcing festivals.† He had but a small number of hearers. His friends advised him to give up preaching, as he could accomplish nothing in that way. How many devout and learned men had failed

* In the biography above cited, p. 45, it is said: *Propter incongruentiam vulgaris sermonis.*

† *Propter oblivionem in festis incidendis.* Ibid.

as preachers! Why should he expend his energies to no purpose? But Militz replied: "If I can save but a single soul, it will satisfy me. The example of my Saviour teaches me this, who did not disdain to accept the one Canaanite woman." As nothing could divert him from his purpose, so his fervent zeal was soon crowned with the happiest results. His sermons produced more effect every day. Many men and women were awakened to repentance under them, confessed their sins to him, and commenced a new Christian life. Usurers and others pursuing unlawful gains, renounced their old wicked courses. Many, filled with disgust at the life of the world, withdrew from it into a rigid ascetic tendency. These results of his labours stimulated him to still greater activity. He preached twice every Sunday and holiday, and occasionally three, four, and even five times daily, in different churches; and his sermons, which were listened to with constantly-increasing attention, lasted several hours. He had but little time, therefore, to prepare for them. He endeavoured to gain strength for this duty in prayer. Other *learned* clergymen had to complain, that, with their utmost exertion, they could not accomplish what Militz was enabled to do after an hour's preparation. On finishing the labours of the day, when he returned home weary and exhausted with so much preaching, he was surrounded and followed by multitudes, seeking spiritual consolation and advice, which he imparted to all with kindness and affection. At an advanced period of his life he learned German, for the purpose of extending his labours also to the German population, and he now preached in this language as well as his own. To the students of the university of Prague, and to the learned, he preached in the Latin language, and was listened to by eager crowds. He had to lend his sermons for the students to copy; and thus they became multiplied. Matthias of Janow, his enthusiastic disciple, of whom we shall speak more particularly hereafter, says of him: "Having been a simple priest and secretary at the prince's court, before his experience of this visitation by the spirit of Christ, he grew so rich in wisdom and all utterance of doctrine, that it was a light matter to him to preach five times in a day; namely, once in Latin, once in German, and then again in the

Bohemian tongue, and this publicly, with mighty fervour and a powerful voice, and he constantly brought forth from his treasures things new and old."* Great was the effect produced by the preaching of Militz, on the female sex in particular; many were induced by his sermons to lay aside their ornaments of pride.† Through all Bohemia were to be found young maidens who owed to him their conversion, and presented patterns of true piety in their womanly virtues.‡ Prague was then a seat of extreme depravation of manners. There was one quarter of the city devoted wholly to pleasure; full of brothels,—“Little Venice,” as it was called, and, in Bohemian, *Benatky*. Militz proposed to transform this seat of sin into a seat of the Christian virtues. He commenced with little beginnings, and ended with great results. He succeeded at first in converting twenty licentious women. He got them to dwell in one house. He found devout women in good circumstances, who were willing to look after them. He took unwearied pains himself in promoting their moral improvement. Some of them were married to husbands, others taken into the service of pious ladies. At length he succeeded in extending his labours to several hundreds. The houses of licentiousness were emptied. The place which they had occupied was partly given up by the emperor and the magistrates of the city to Militz, for the promotion of his

* From a manuscript work of Matth. of Janow, “De Regulis Veteris et Novi Testamenti:” Nam cum fuit ante simplex presbyter et scriptor in curiis principum, antequam fuit siccine a spiritu Jesu visitatus, in tantum sapientia et omni verbo doctrinæ dives est effectus, quod facile erat eidem quinquies in uno die prædicare, puta semel in Latino sermone, semel in Teutonico, et iterum Boëmico, et hoc publice et in communi cum clamore et zelo valido, atque in singulis nova et vetera de suo thesauro proferendo et in magno ordine, pondere et mensura, ita ut potest hinc elici, quod tota dies cedebat sibi ad prædicandum, clamandum et laborandum; communiter autem bis et ter in die festivo prædicabat; quotidie vero sine interruptione unum sermonem faciebat.

† Crescente itaque prædicatione ejus, inceperunt mulieres superbæ pepla alta, et gemmis circumdata caputia, et vestimenta auro et argento ornata deponere. Balbinus, l. l. p. 46.

‡ Matth. of Janow, in the work cited in the preceding note, says: Adolescentiarum autem virginum et viduarum non erat numerus, quia miro modo igne caritatis Jesu a verbo ipsius inflammatae usque hodie per universam Boëmiā perseverant.

pious object, and other houses were purchased with money supplied by charitable contributions. He founded here a Magdalene hospital, with a chapel, in which there was preaching every day for the benefit of the new converts. "Little Venice," now converted into a seat of piety, obtained the name of "Little Jerusalem." We see, in Miltz, one of the leaders and founders of domestic missions, an institution much needed in such an age. Matthias of Janow thus describes these labours of Miltz, by which Prague underwent so complete a change: "Oh, how many vices, conquered by him, had to give up the field! And if Miltz had not come, and so much had not been accomplished by his voice thundering to the skies, we should, of a truth, have been as Sodom, and perished like Gomorrah. But now, by the grace of Christ, through the energy and pains of Miltz, Sodom has been restored to her ancient worth; from being a Babylon, Prague is spiritually transformed, full of the word of Christ, and of the doctrine of salvation; for now, that the abominable, the open and public vices have been conquered, the Christian virtues find room to bud and blossom in many souls, and increase daily both in number and vigour."* The same Matthias of Janow remarks of this extraordinary man: "I confess that I cannot enumerate even the tenth part of what my own eyes saw, my own ears heard, and my hands handled, though I lived with him but a short time."

But Miltz was not so well satisfied with himself. After he had thus laboured for a period of from five to six years in Prague, and also in several other cities within the circle of Olmutz, the sense of his own unworthiness was too much for him; he was desirous of withdrawing from the office of

* The words of Matth. of Janow: *O quam multa vitia et abundantia omnis iniquitatis abierunt retro debellata, perindeque nisi Myliczius venisset, et procul dubio suo clamore ad coelum usque effecisset, quod prorsus quasi Sodoma et quasi Gomorra periissemus. Ast nunc Christo Jesu propitio, virtute et labore Myliczii Sodoma rediit in antiquam dignitatem, et de Babylone spiritualiter facta est Praga jam abundans omni verbo Christi et doctrina salutari, nam vitiis horrendis, praesertim publicis, jam depugnatis et post tergum projectis, virtutes Christi Jesu in animabus jam pulsant caputque erigentes continue atque quotidie invalescunt secundum numerum et gradus, Jesu crucifixo ipsis praestante gloriosa incrementa.*

preacher, and of consecrating himself to a still more rigid life as a monk. But the advice of his friends, and their representations of the bad effects which must necessarily result from the sudden interruption of such active and successful labours, held him back. Militz expresses his own feelings thus: "I was in the Spirit, and meditated on what is written in the Revelation: 'To him that overcometh will I give of the tree of life;' and I knew that if I overcame the sin that is in me, I should taste of the tree of life, or of the understanding of the Holy Spirit, and I prayed often, that Almighty God would give me the Holy Spirit, and anoint me with his unction, that I might not fall into any error, and might enjoy the taste and perfume of true wisdom, so that I might deceive none and be deceived by none, and wish no longer to know anything but what is necessary for me and the holy church. And soon a voice thundered in my heart, telling me how I once longed to taste of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and to know more than I could know; and although, collecting my thoughts within me, I had often done penance for this, I had still not fully understood how blind I was, how much I needed to crucify the flesh, to deny myself in my own heart, and to take upon me the cross of Christ. I understand this now. Therefore the Spirit, speaking to me in my heart, told me that I should begin to take up the cross, crucify my flesh, forsake and deny myself, and enter upon the monastic life; that I should think meanly of myself, and not preach; for I was not yet fit for it. And I was held back from doing so by all my advisers, who remonstrated against it; but still I have, for a long time, abstained from preaching."

From this confession we see that Militz, in contemplating the corruption of the church, was filled with the sense of his own unworthiness, so as to be on the point of retiring wholly from the world; as he actually did abstain, for a while, from preaching. But he must soon have felt himself impelled again, by that spirit of Elias which possessed him, instead of retiring into solitude, to stand forth and manfully contend with the corruptions of his age. During this period of his temporary seclusion from the world, Militz glanced from the present—as the corruption of the

church prompted many persons of a reformatory and presageful spirit, in these times, to do—to the dawning morn of a better future. In those signs of the time, set forth in the New Testament as harbingers of Christ's advent, have often been depicted to the eyes of inspired seers the signs of some approaching new epoch for the kingdom of Christ. They could cast presaging glances into the future, though they failed of the exact truth in particulars, and they erred in this respect, that, overlooking the manifold intermediate epochs which are to prepare the way for the great and final crisis, they looked upon this last itself as the one immediately impending. Thus Militz sought to interpret the signs of the present by comparing them with the prophecies of the Old Testament, the last discourses of Christ, and the prophetic intimations in the epistles of St. Paul. He saw the way preparing for a divine judgment on the corrupt church; he foresaw a renovation of the church, by which it was to be prepared for the second advent of Christ. The prophetic images which presented themselves in his visions, appeared to him as revelations of the Divine Spirit. From him as the source proceeded those prophetic ideas, which, further developed afterwards by his disciple Matthias of Janow, extended their influence also to John Huss. Important in this regard is particularly his tract *De Antichristo*, which has been preserved by Matthias of Janow in his own larger work above cited. Under the "abomination of desolation," (Matt. xxv.) he finds signified corruption in all parts of the church. The apostasy of the Jewish nation from divine truth appears to him an antetype of the fall of the secularized church from evangelical truth. Antichrist, he supposes, is not still to come, but has come already. He says in his tract on the Antichrist: Where Christ speaks of the "abomination" in the temple, he invites us to look round and observe how, through the negligence of her pastors, the church lies desolate; just as, by the negligence of its pastors, the synagogue lay desolate. Hence if at present the church has abundance of peace and superfluity of earthly riches, still it has been deprived of spiritual riches, and so is fulfilled that word of prophecy, Iniquity has taken the upper hand. Has not

love grown cold; has not iniquity taken the upper hand? Therefore have they many prebends which they have obtained by simony, or through avarice; while many others are driven thereby to beg or steal; the poor members of Christ are deprived of what belongs to them. Hence the sale and purchase of sacraments, of burial-places; hence much simony in the monastic orders; hence private possessions in the hands of those who have renounced riches. Are not these abominations and idols? And thus the temple of God lies desolate, through the hypocrisy that reigns almost universally; so that the priests are one thing, but would be called another. The monks hear confessions indiscriminately, without obtaining leave from the diocesan authorities. He next surveys the corruption in all ranks of society, in kings, princes, noblemen, merchants, artisans, peasantry; notices how debauchery, luxury, perversion of justice, oppression of the poor, every description of vice, abounded; how more faith was given to the conjuror's art than to the gospel. "When I considered all this," he says, "I said to the Spirit, which spake within me, Who is Antichrist? And he answered, There are many Antichrists. He who denies Christ, and the authority of Christ, is an Antichrist. And as many who say they know him, deny him by their works, while others deny him by keeping still and not daring to confess him and the truth of his cause before men; conclude from this who is Antichrist." The appearance of Antichrist being, in the opinion of Militz, not a thing still in the future, but already present, it was his opinion also that the angels, whom Christ was to send forth before the last judgment, to gather up the tares and to sound the trumpet of judgment, symbolized the preachers of divine truth, who were to be sent out, before the second advent of Christ, into all quarters, to attack and destroy the reign of Antichrist and to testify of Christ. When Militz strove to suppress these thoughts concerning the last times, as temptations, he found they were too mighty for him. He was forced to give up to them. He felt himself called to inform pope Urban V. of the visions which rose in his mind, and to use them in warning and admonishing that pope. He must go—for such he supposed was the voice of the Spirit—and

tell the pope that he had been called, by the Holy Ghost, to the duty of bringing back the church to the way of salvation, the duty of sending forth the angels or preachers, with the trumpets of the message and loud voices, that they might remove those scandals from the field of God or from the church; and as the harvest, or the end of the world drew near, that he should now root up the tares, the heretics, false prophets, hypocrites, Beghards and Beguins,* and schismatics, who were all designated by the names Gog and Magog; that then the fulness of the Gentiles would enter into the kingdom of God, and the true Israel alone be left standing; and thus all would be one shepherd and one fold, and bound together by such cords of love—if not all, yet many—that all things would be held in common, as the Holy Ghost should direct. Accordingly he must advise the pope to call a general council, at which all the bishops might unite in some plan for the reformation of the communities entrusted to their charge, and for the restoration of good discipline. Monks and secular priests should be exhorted to go forth as preachers; for many of them wasted away their lives in idleness, when they might be active in labours, and strong in dispensing the word. The pope was to make arrangements for a general crusade, *i. e.* a peaceful crusade of men preaching the Lord and fighting for him, prepared to die, to suffer for Christ, rather than to kill.† These should overcome the beast (of the Apocalypse) or Antichrist, by the blood of the Lamb, and build a safe highway to the land of eternal promise. Not

* It will be remembered that this name, since the times of the 13th century, was variously used, sometimes in a good and sometimes in a bad sense, to denote truly devout, also fanatical and hypocritical tendencies, and even such as proceeded from a wildly enthusiastic pantheism.

† *Hinc faciat passagium generale, aliis dominum prædicantibus et pugnantibus plus mori quam occidere, pati pro Christo.* Militz's language is somewhat obscure, as it is in the whole of this writing. It may be understood to mean, that the sending forth of preachers was to be distinguished from a proper crusade. But it hardly corresponds with the spirit of Militz to suppose he meant that infidels were to be attacked by force of arms. The import of the whole seems rather to be that the crusade was not to be one in the literal sense, but the opposite—a spiritual crusade.

a crusade, therefore, for the opening a way to the Jerusalem on earth, but a spiritual crusade, which, by the triumphant diffusion of the word of Christ, should make the heavenly Jerusalem accessible to all, was what Militz had in mind. He beholds, in spirit, how many martyrs would die for the truth, and by the blood of these martyrs the sins of the Christian people should be expiated. "Were these to be silent," says he, "the very stones would cry out."

Militz, in the year 1367, felt himself called to go to Rome; and took with him, as companions, Theodoric a monk, and one of his disciples of the ecclesiastical order. He went to Rome, either because he hoped to find pope Urban V. already there, (the report that Urban intended to transfer the seat of the papacy back to that city having perhaps already reached Prague,) or because he thought it his duty to testify, first of all, in the ancient seat of the papacy and the chief city of Christendom, concerning the revelation of Antichrist, and the preparation for Christ's second coming. He had resided in Rome a month, preparing himself by study of the Scriptures, prayer, and fasting, for the work to which he felt himself called. The pope, however, did not make his appearance; his return to Rome was still delayed, and Militz could no longer keep silent. He caused a notification to be posted up at the entrance of St. Peter's church, that on a certain day he would there make his public appearance and address the assembled multitude; that he would announce the coming of Antichrist, and exhort the people to pray for the pope and the emperor, that they might be enabled so to order the affairs of the church, in things spiritual and temporal, that the faithful might securely serve their Creator.* He

* Militz himself reports this in his paper on the Antichrist: *Et tunc jam desperassem de adventu domini nostri papæ, . . . et tunc irrui in me spiritus, ita ut me continere non possem, dicens in corde, vade in Roma, publice pertracta, qua quomodo affligetur hostis ecclesiæ S. Petri, sic sollicitus fuisti intimare in Praga, quoniam eris prædicaturus, quod velis prædicare, quod antichristus venit, et cohortari eos velles et populum, ut orent pro domino nostro papa et pro domino imperatore, ut ita ordinent ecclesiam sanctam in spiritualibus et temporalibus, ut securi fideles deserviant creatori.* It is evident that the author of the biographical sketch of Militz, published by Balbin, had this paper before him, and that this account is founded on it.

proposed, moreover, to reduce his sermon to writing, that his language might not be misconstrued and represented as heretical, and that what he spoke might be more widely published abroad.* But a notice of this sort could not fail to excite suspicion, and Militz had already, by his castigatory sermons, drawn down upon himself the hatred of the mendicant monks in Prague; he was therefore waylaid and apprehended, and the inquisitor, who belonged to the Dominican order, placed him under arrest. He was to be called before the tribunal. His companion Theodoric was shut up in a Dominican convent. Militz, loaded with chains, was delivered over to the Franciscans, to be kept in close confinement. He showed the greatest patience and gentleness under his sufferings; not a word of revenge escaped his lips; his meek forbearance confounded his persecutors. His companion Theodoric found it more difficult to suppress his indignation at such unjust treatment; but Militz admonished him to think on the sufferings of Christ, who was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and opened not his mouth. A devout woman in Rome charitably undertook to provide for their wants; but Militz was greatly pained when he came to be informed that she sent better food to him than to his companion Theodoric. After having been long detained in close confinement, he was asked what it had been his intention to preach. He requested his examiners to give him the Bible, which had been taken from him at the time of his arrest, with paper, pen, and ink, and he would put his discourse in writing. This was granted, and his fetters were removed. Before a large assembly of prelates and learned men, in the church of St. Peter, he delivered a discourse in Latin, which produced a great impression. He was then conducted back to his prison, but treated with less severity. It was in his cell that he afterwards composed his above-mentioned work "On the Antichrist," as appears from his own words: "The author writes this, a prisoner and in chains, troubled in spirit, longing for the freedom of Christ's church, longing that Christ would speak the word, Let it be, and it

* Militz expresses himself as follows: *Et dabis in scriptis sermonem illum, ne immutent verba tua, et ut materia divulgetur.*

shall be; and protesting that he has not kept back that which was in his heart, but has spoken it out to the church, and that he is prepared to hold fast to whatever the pope or the church may lay on him." But no sooner had pope Urban arrived at Rome, than the situation of Militz was altered for the better. He was set free from prison and received into the palace of a cardinal; he had a favourable audience with the pope, and returned back to Prague to the great joy of his community. The exultation at his return was the greater, because his enemies, the mendicants, had foretold to the people from the pulpit that he would perish at the stake.

He recommenced with new zeal his labours in Prague. He was not satisfied with the little good that could be effected by his own personal labours in preaching. He was often heard to say: "Would that all were prophets!" He set up a school for preachers. And when he had trained up an able young priest, he took pains himself to draw upon him the attention of the communities, pointing him out as one who would surpass his master, as one whom they should listen to with care. He founded an association composed of two or three hundred young men, all of whom resided under the same roof with himself, were trained under his influence, and by his society. He copied the books which they were to study, and gave them devotional books to copy themselves, for the sake of multiplying them. All here was to be free; to flow spontaneously from the one animating spirit by which all were to be governed. An internal tie was all that held them together; no outward discipline or rule, no vow, no uniformity of dress. The disciples of Militz soon distinguished themselves by their serious, spiritual lives, and by their style of preaching. Hence they too, like himself, were made butts of ridicule and persecution by the worldly-minded clergy, whom the lives of these exemplary young men stung with shame and reproach. They were nicknamed Militzans, Beghards. The beneficence of Militz was without bounds. Crowds of the poor were always to be seen collected before his doors. He gave all he had to help them, reserving nothing at all for himself; so that when everything else was gone, he sold his books, the very books which he used himself, and

which he kept ready to lend to any that needed.* When he had nothing more he ran round among other clergymen and the rich, and collected contributions,† never allowing himself to lose heart by any rude rebuff he might chance to receive from those whose charities he asked. Nothing was left him but the most indispensable articles of clothing; not even what was needful to protect him, in midwinter, from the inclemency of the season. A rich man had said: Militz suffered so much from the cold, he would be glad to present him with a set of furs if he could only be sure that he would keep it. On hearing of it, Militz observed: He was far from wishing to keep anything for himself alone; on that condition he could not accept of the furs. He was often persecuted and stigmatised as a heretic; but his patience and gentleness never failed him for a moment; and he used to say, "Let me suffer ever so much persecution, when I bethink me of the fervent penitence of that poor woman"—referring to one who had been converted by his means from a life of licentiousness and crime—"the bitterest cup becomes sweet to me, for all I suffer is as nothing compared to the grief of that one woman."

The enemies of Militz at length extracted from his sermons twelve articles, which they sent to a certain Master Klonkot, an agent of theirs, probably himself a Bohemian, who happened to be present at the papal court in Avignon. It is very manifest how wide an influence Militz must have already gained by means of his school. The pope saw clearly that such doctrines would be disseminated through Bohemia, Poland, and Silesia. He put forth several bulls to the archbishop of Gnesen, the bishop of Breslau, the archbishop of Prague, and to the emperor Charles IV. He expressed his surprise to the bishops that they should have tolerated until now the spread of such heretical, schismatic doctrines through so wide a circle; called upon them to suppress the same, and bring Militz and his adherents to pun-

* Propter quod dum omnibus libris, quos solos pro docendo habuerat, et paucos obligavit, vendidit et expendit, are the words of Matth. of Janow.

† Matth. of Janow remarks, after the words just cited: Tunc mutando a divitibus et rogando non sine magnis contumeliis et repulsa discurrendo.

ishment. Yet even Gregory XI. must assuredly have been still somewhat uncertain himself whether wrong had not been done to Miltz; for he uses the qualifying expressions,—"If it is so"—"If you find that it is so."* In the bull addressed to the emperor Charles, he says: "We have recently learned from the report of several credible persons, that a certain priest Miltz, formerly a canonical at Prague, under the garb of sanctity, but in the spirit of temerity and self-conceit, has taken upon himself the calling to preach which does not belong to him, and has dared to teach openly in your dominions many errors, which are not only bad and rash, but also heretical and schismatic, extremely mischievous and dangerous to the faithful, especially the simple." When the pope's bull arrived at Prague, the archbishop was confounded. He caused Miltz to be cited, and complained to him of his perplexity. Miltz, however, remained perfectly tranquil in the consciousness of his innocence, and bid the archbishop take courage, as his conscience was clear. He placed his trust in God and in the power of the truth; these would triumph over every assault. He went to Avignon in the year 1374; but died there while his cause was still pending.†

In connection with Miltz we should notice Conrad of Waldhausen,‡ a German from Austria, who was distin-

* *Annales Raynaldi*, tom. VII. 1374 ad ann. Nr. 10 and 11, p. 251.

† We follow here the report of Matth. of Janow, as the one most worthy of credence, who says of Miltz: *Avenione exulans est mortuus*. It must be an error, when it is said, in the biography published by Balbinus, that he went to Rome. This error might easily arise from the confounding together of the curia Romana and the curia Avenionensis. It must also be a mistake that, as the report in Balbin has it, Miltz returned back to Prague and died there. We might suggest the inquiry, whether, in the biography preserved in Balbin, a report got up in the lifetime of Miltz, and another composed after his death, may not be blended together.

‡ This Conrad of Waldhausen first became better known through the researches of Palacky, to whom I am indebted for the first oral communications respecting him (see his *History of Bohemia*, 3, 1, 161 ff, and note 225), and through those of P. Jordan in his paper, "*Die Vorläufer des Hussitentums in Böhmen*," which learned man may also have availed himself of Palacky's researches. An erroneously printed passage in Cochläus (*Historiæ Hussitarum*, lib. XII. p. 42),

guished in Bohemia as a preacher full of zeal for reform.* He belonged to the order of St. Augustin, and exerted a great influence, at first as a priest, by his sermons, in Vienna, from the year 1345 and onward, through a period of fifteen years.† Within this period fell the jubilee already mentioned as having been proclaimed by pope Clement VI. While an opportunity of this sort would be seized upon by the common preachers of indulgences to do still greater mischief to the souls of men, Conrad of Waldhausen would feel himself called upon the more to wake up the attention of the misguided people as a preacher of repentance. Without contending against the determinations of that church doctrine, to which he himself was devoted, he might still endeavour to counteract the pernicious influence of the ordinary preachers of indulgences, and to direct men's attention to the internal moral conditions which were required in order to derive any true benefit from indulgences. It seems, that he was led by this occasion of the jubilee to make the pilgrimage himself to Rome, and that, on this journey, and after his return from it, he laboured as a preacher of repentance in Austria and

taken from the writing of a contemporary of Huss, the Bohemian theologian Andrew of Broda, who wrote against Huss, caused this forerunner of Huss to be forgotten and to be confounded with another castigator of the corrupt clergy, the Cistercian John of Stekna : when the friends of Huss, for example, said in his justification, that he was persecuted merely on account of his castigatory discourses against the corrupt clergy, this Andrew of Broda replied, by appealing to the examples of those three castigatory preachers before him, Militz, the above-mentioned Conrad, and John of Stekna, who, however, had not been accused of heresy ; and he says in this connection : *Nam et ab antiquis temporibus Milicius, Conradus, Sczekna et alii cæt.* The simple fact, that the two last names were not separated from each other by a comma, led to the entire mistake.

* Matth. of Janow characterises both Militz and Conrad of Waldhausen as men full of the spirit of Elijah. He says : *Conradus Walthauser, homo utique religiosus et devotus, qui dictis suis et scriptis principales metropoles sanctæ ecclesiæ repleverunt utpote Romam et Avenionem, ubi Papa, et Bohemiam atque Pragam, ubi ecclesiæ imperatoris. Unus ipsorum Conradus in Praga occubuit, ubi Cæsar, cæt.*

† We take this from a remark made by the man himself in his piece in defence of himself, composed in 1364, and still unpublished : *Jam per quindecim annos laboriosæ coram ducibus Austriæ coramque populo multo palam concione cæt.*

Bohemia, till he arrived at Prague. We take this from his own writings. For when, at some later period, his violent enemies of the two orders of mendicant friars accused him of disturbing everywhere by his sermons the public peace, —a charge often brought against preachers who, by their searching discourses, produced some movement which was opposed to the selfish interests of many,—he, in defending himself, compares this accusation with the one brought against Christ, namely, that he stirred up the people; that he taught from city to city, in the whole land of Judæa, beginning from Galilee even unto Jerusalem; where he remarks: “And so they say of me: ‘He has set the people in commotion, beginning—and herein, at least, they speak the truth—beginning from Rome, the seat of the apostolical chair, in the year of the jubilee, and teaching through all Austria even to this city of Prague, from this time, by God’s wonderful dealing, become an imperial city.’”^{*} This happened, therefore, in the year 1350. By these labours he must have become known to the king of Bohemia, the emperor Charles IV., who sought in every way to advance the interests of the Bohemian people. The emperor endeavoured to secure him for this country, and, in the year 1360, he was called, as parish priest, to the city of Leitmeritz. Partly his earnest wish to labour on a wider scale for the salvation of souls and against the corruption of these times, an opportunity for which was offered to him at Prague, and partly a controversy in which he became involved with a convent of Dominicans and Franciscans, who sought to circumscribe the activity of the parish priest, and to take everything into their own hands, induced him to make his appearance as a preacher in Prague.[†]

^{*} *Commovit populum docens per universam Austriam, incipiens, ut verum saltem in hoc dicant, a Romana civitate sedis apostolicæ, anno Jubilæo docens per universam Austriam usque hanc scil. in Pragam, ex tunc mirabiliter Dei dispensatu civitatem imperialem.*

[†] Conrad’s opponents allege, as the reason why he left his parish, what he himself stated: (*Scripserunt, me dixisse in quodam sermone, causam, quare in parochia mea non residerem, esse*), quia ipsam duo monasteria fratrum mendicantium attenuassent ibidem, et esset ratio, quia abstulissent sibi populum suum, et sibi attraxissent. And he grants that this was one reason, but not the only one, nor the chief one. *Respondeo, quod ista omnia sunt vera, præter hoc, quod dixerunt, esse hoc præcipuam causam sed tantum fuit concausa.*

He preached, first, for a year, in the church of St. Galli, in Prague.* But the crowd of people who were impressed by his preaching constantly increased; and, as he thought it wrong to withhold God's word from any one who was drawn to hear it, but felt bound to labour for the salvation of as many as he could, he preached, the church being no longer large enough for his audience, in the open market-place to the vast crowds who there assembled around him. He also, like Militz, supposed that he saw in the anti-christian spirit of his times, the signs of the last preparatory epoch which was to precede the second advent of Christ; and his sermons were frequently taken up in directing the attention of his hearers to these signs, in warning them against the impending dangers, exhorting them to watchfulness over themselves, and against the insidious spread of antichristian corruption. "Not willing," says he, "that the blood of souls should be required at my hands, I traced, as I was able, in the holy Scripture, the future dangers impending over the souls of men."† Accordingly he attacked, in his sermons, the prevailing vices in all ranks of society; the pride of dress in the women; usury; lightness, and vanity in the youth. Many, under the influence of his preaching, experienced an entire change of heart. He produced such an effect on many usurers that they restored back their wrongful gains: this he required them to do as evidence of their conversion. A certain young man, by the name of Slanko, was looked upon as one of the most remarkable examples of his singular power in reaching the souls of men. This person took the lead among the giddy, light-minded youth, given up to every vanity. Without any purpose of devotion he visited the churches, where he amused himself with looking round upon the young ladies, nodding to them, and throwing pebbles at them, even during the fasts; and so he went on during all the first part of the time that Conrad was preach-

* His own words are: *Ego Conradus in Waldhausen professus ordinem S. Augustini canonicorum regularium et Lothomir Pragensis dioceseos Plebanus verbum Dei in civitate Pragensi quasi per annum continuum prædicassem in ecclesia S. Galli.*

† *Nolens sanguinem animarum de manibus meis requiri, equidem in Scripturis sanctis vidi fidelius, ut potui, pericula animarum futura.*

ing at Prague. But, struck by some remark of the preacher, he changed his whole course of life, became one of his most attentive and devout hearers, to be found always by his side; and Conrad often alluded to the change that had taken place in him, as evidence of the power of transforming grace.*

Even the Jews often went to hear him preach. Some of his friends would have prevented this; but Conrad, who was zealous for the salvation of *all* human souls, and could not approve of this exclusion of the Jews, reminded his friends that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, their conversion in great numbers was some time or other to be expected. They ought never to doubt of the power of the gospel and of divine grace. He would pleasantly remark that "if it was in the power of divine grace to change the worldly heart of a Slanko, why might it not also overcome the unbelief of the Jews?"† He thus speaks of the matter himself: "It so happened that many Jews, of both sexes, attended my preaching, sitting and standing promiscuously in the crowd among the Christians; and it was told me that a number of Christians supposed that the Jews must be avoided, and wished to prevent them from attending my preaching for the future. I then said: I have heard that some of you have been keeping away the Jews, who were attentive hearers, from my sermons. I beg you not to do this again; for the last day is approaching, before which, according to Isaiah, all the Jews are to be converted. Peradventure some one of these may, by the grace of God, be converted." And to show that this was by no means impossible, he cites the example of Slanko.

In pointing beyond a mere outside Christianity to its

* Conrad says of him: *Ille fuerat valde indisciplinatus ante adventum meum in Pragam. Ita quando civissæ, quibus honisabat, vel quæcunque aliæ sedebant in quadragesima in prædicatione, jaciebat super earum capillos. Etiam in principio adventus mei in Pragam fuit aliquandiu inquietus; postea fuit conversus cum multis aliis complicitibus suis ejusdem vanitatis, quod valde devote mecum sedebat in quadragesima ad sermonem.*

† The words of Conrad: *De hoc juvene jocose dixi, arguens per locum a minori, sciens quod non ægre ferret, et quia bonus amicus meus esset, et de hoc gaudebat: Ex quo conversus est ille, posset etiam Judæus converti.*

true essence, in exposing the various ways in which men deceived themselves with regard to the demands of Christianity, the various means resorted to for the purpose of hushing the alarms of conscience, and bolstering up a life of immorality, he was led to contend earnestly against the influence of the mendicant friars, who by their mock-sanctity imposed on the multitude, while they encouraged and promoted the false reliance in various outward works; and in warning men against the false prophets who were to appear in the last times, he felt compelled to draw his illustrations chiefly from the mendicants. He spoke with great emphasis against every species of simony, but especially against that form of it which was stealthily practised under the garb of absolute poverty by the begging-monks. Simony he pronounced to be heresy. There was, as he thought, a still worse heresy than that of the *Pneumatomachi*, who declared the Holy Ghost to be a mere creature; namely when, by simony, the Holy Ghost was employed as a means of getting money. The former only made the Holy Ghost a ministrant creature to God the Father; but they who practised simony made the Holy Ghost their own spirit, their own minister.* He regarded it as no better than simony, to ask pay for taking in and nursing the sick, and to decline receiving young women or young men into the convents except for a certain stipulated sum. He had applied at first to Ernest, archbishop of Prague, and requested him to put a stop to this simony. But this prelate assured him that it was out of his power; most of the convents being exempted from his jurisdiction, and under the control of priors of the mendicant order.† No other course remained for him, therefore, but to lift up his voice against the evil, in his sermons and in his intercourse with men. He inveighed against the mock-sanctity of the

* Illi enim Macedoniani creaturam et servum *Dei* Patris et Filii Spiritum Sanctum delirando fatebantur. Isti vero eundem Spiritum Sanctum efficiunt *suum* servum, quia divendunt ipsum quasi adversarii.

† This Conrad relates himself: Domino archiepiscopo Pragensi id ipsum significare, quod talibus, ne fierent, remedium adhiberet opportunum. Qui respondit, quod monasteria monialium fere omnia essent ab ejus cura in civitate Pragensi exempta, sed sub alis fratrum ordinum mendicantium, ut communiter essent.

monks, who endeavoured to deceive the simple to the great injury of their souls; and through weak-minded, bigoted females, in particular, introduced their corrupting influence into families, procured legacies to be made to their order, and its superior holiness to be commended, so as to induce parents to give up to them their boys. "These persons," he says, "often deceive the simple, by pretending to a holy poverty, putting on the garb of an hypocritical sanctity; and whilst, for outside show, they carry that devotion on their lips, which is not, I fear, in their hearts, they rob those who confess to them of what belongs rightfully, when they have done with it, to their heirs. But let these simple persons hear what our Lord threatens to such, in his parables (Matt. xxiii. 23)."* No man, he held, could be forced to be virtuous. All goodness must proceed from free choice and conviction. Hence he objected to the practice, customary with parents, of carrying their children to the convents, where they were to be put under a perpetual vow to the monastic life, though it was quite uncertain whether they would be fitted for it or willing to undertake it on arriving at mature years. "They only," he said, "who are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God. That which the Spirit only can effect, is not to be forcibly imposed upon one from without." We recognise, in all this, the Augustinian; one on whom the doctrines of Augustin had exerted a great and decided influence. He himself remarks, in clearing himself from the reproaches which were thrown on him for using such expressions: "Because I was informed that the people of Prague had been persuaded by those monks to vow the consecration to their orders of boys still in the mother's womb, and to give them the names of the saints of those orders, I spoke publicly against such a practice, except on the express condition that their children should be held to such vows only in case they met with their own concurrence when they came of age.† For otherwise it would inevitably be at-

* Immo tales creberrime prætextu suæ sanctæ paupertatis et habitu simulatæ sanctitatis simplices decipientes et eorum devotionibus, ore, sed ut timeo, non corde ostensis, confitentes, privant bonis suis, quibus post mortem deberent vivere hæredes eorum. Sed audiant, quid dominus talibus in figura similitudinis comminetur.

† Quia homines civitatis Pragensis audiebam per prædictos fratres,

tended with danger to the souls of both parents." Therefore he held parents responsible for the injury which might accrue to their children, if such a mode of life was forced upon them contrary to their own wishes. He had nothing to say against the monastic life, in itself considered. But he made a distinction between this life and the strange offshoots from it, against which he felt it the more incumbent on him to warn men, in proportion to the high regard which he entertained for the institution. Referring to the remarks of Augustin, he declared, that while in monasticism, if it corresponded to its idea, was to be found the most perfect mode of Christian life; so in it, when degenerated, was also to be found the greatest wickedness. Refusing to retract what he had said on this point, but rather confirming it, he wrote: "I say and write what I never wrote, or said from the pulpit, before, moved to do this now by such an unwarranted contradiction, that he who has a son or friend whom he loves, and whose welfare he holds dear, should no more allow him to enter into one of these orders—in which manifestly, and as it were by authority, owing to the corrupt influence of a bad custom, it has become necessary to live contrary to the rule of the orders and to the profession—than he who wants to cross the Danube, should voluntarily embark in a leaky craft, thereby exposing his life to danger."* And after quoting certain remarks of St. Bernard, referring to the degeneracy of the monks, he adds: "But I say, O St. Bernard, what would thy language be now, didst thou behold the mendicant friars sitting in those splendid palaces, which they own in spite of the apostolical prohibition!" It were better, he thinks, only for the sake of escaping corruption

ut pueri adhuc in ventris matrum existentes suis ordinibus voverent, procurari et nomina sanctorum vel sanctarum sui ordinis nominari, quæ ne fierent ut potui publice prohibui, nisi si hoc pacto sui primum voluissent hoc votum, cum ad annos discretionis pervenerit, suo libero arbitrio ratificare.

* Dico et scribo, quod prius nunquam scripsi vel dixi in ambone, tali contradictione indebita motus, quod quilibet habens puerum vel amicum diligens, quem velit salvare, videat, ne in aliquem ordinem ipsos intrare procuret, in quo manifeste et quasi jam ex auctoritate propter corruptellam prævæ consuetudinis sit necesse vivere contra regulam ejusdem ordinis et professionem, attendens, quod nullus volens Danubium transire, sponte intraret navem corruptam, ubi tamen esset in periculo corpus.

and securing salvation, to remain in the world; for, as well in the monastic life as in the world, Pure worship and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world. To the monks who trusted in the holiness of their order, he applied what John the Baptist had said in rebuking the theocratical pride of the Jews, that God was able, out of these stones, to raise up children to Abraham. "No monk," says he, "is entitled to hope that he shall be saved because the founder of his order was a holy man; it would be precisely the same as if I should hope in St. Augustin, and expect to be made blessed by his holiness without any good works of my own." "I believe," says he, "that if St. Francis himself should find fault with them for their wickedness, he must prove, according to their own professions, to be a bad man, and they would never acknowledge him as the founder of their order; so very far, alas! have they departed from the purity of their foundation, and from their original poverty. He distinguishes, indeed, the primitive mode of living among the mendicants, as laid down by their rule, from that which contradicted it; yet it is very evident, that he was very far from regarding the institution of the mendicant orders, in itself considered, as the highest degree of the imitation of Christ. On the contrary, he disputes the position, that such poverty corresponded to the original type of the life of Christ. He affirms that Christ never begged. In proof of this, he states that when Christ paid the tribute for himself and for Peter, he did not beg it, but caused it to be found in the mouth of the fish; that Christ was styled not the carpenter's son merely, but the carpenter; explaining the words, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" as if the people had said, We have not seen him studying, but at work with his father the carpenter. He offered to give sixty groats to any one who could cite a single passage from the New Testament, showing that Christ had ever begged.* He himself repented, as it would seem, of his earlier mode of life, which his order had im-

* Dixi, quod quicumque ex iis fuerit primus, qui ostenderit mihi ex scriptura canonica, Christum mendicasse, cujus rationes solvere non possim, dabo sibi unam sexagenariam grossorum pro cappa panni rudis.

posed; for he says: "O, had I but known it ten years ago, I would then, for the glory of God, have devoted myself entirely to study; but from henceforth I will consecrate my whole life to study, to the cultivation of a prayerful spirit and to preaching." He contests the notion, that it was a peculiarly holy and meritorious work to give alms to the monks, instead of providing for the support of the truly necessitous poor. "Oh," he writes, "what will the Lord say, in that day of fearful judgment, to those who, when they were not needy themselves, snatched away their alms from the truly poor, the real beggars! Assuredly will it be in his power to say, I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat: ye took away from me, what was to serve as my food. Much rather," said he, "should we give to the poor and to the *true* beggars, than to a rich and strong man, who begs while he might work. And I believe," he proceeds, "all men of sound understanding would agree with me in this; though not an individual would say that we are bound to give to the rich man, rather than to the poor Lazarus; that we should give to those that riot at feasts, and leave to die, of hunger, the poor beggars who seek to feed themselves with the crumbs that fall from the table." He bore his testimony against the fraudulent quackery carried on with pretended relics of saints. "The people," said he, "often allow themselves to be imposed upon with relics. A head of St. Barbara, it was reported, existed somewhere in Prussia; and yet many held that they had such a head in Prague." And he adds, in confirmation: "So true is it, that they often love the perishable bodies of saints more than their meritorious works for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; when the truth is that the saints do not make holiness, but holiness made the saints; therefore holiness should not be loved less than the saints."* He applies to them what Christ says of the Pharisees, who garnished the sepulchres of the murdered prophets, while in heart they resembled their murderers. The reason why they honoured the tombs of the prophets, Christ tells them, was that they

* Quod sicut verum est, quod sæpe plus diligunt pereuntia sanctorum corpora, quam imitentur et diligantur propter cœleste regnum ipsorum merita, cum tamen sancti non fecerint sanctitatem, sed sanctitas sanctos. Unde sanctitas non minus quam sancti esset diligenda.

found it a source of gain. They deceived the simple by this show of religion.* While Conrad prevailed on the usurers, who were converted under his sermons, to prove the sincerity of their repentance by returning the gains they had made from unlawful interest, to those whom they had robbed, directly contrary to this was the practice of the mendicants, who tranquillised the consciences of usurers, by inspiring in them a false confidence in absolution, because they ministered to their avarice. He could lay it to their charge, that they had absolved from all his sins, and buried with ceremonious pomp, a usurer who had never restored back his unlawful gains, though he had made a large donation to them.† He reproaches them with the folly of celebrating mass for him whose soul might, in all probability, be with that of the rich man in hell.‡ He says of the mendicants: "We may see those who would be pillars of the church, strolling about in the cities, or to the castles, and through the country, without returning to their convents for two or more months; and there is nothing which they preach more zealously than, "Give us, and we will pray for you." Thus they sought only their own, and not the things which are Jesus Christ's, and laid the foundation of endless troubles in the church.§ One effect of his own preaching, he tells us, was that the mendicants lost all their hearers.|| He says that their preachers had, often, not more than four bigoted women, Beguins as they were called, to hear their German sermons.¶ But

* Quia sepulcra prophetarum pecuniam iis solvebant, simplices per huiusmodi speciem religionis decipiebant.

† Conrad's words: Ipsum, postposita omnium conscientia, in ecclesia sua absolutum suo decreto ab omnibus peccatis suis, gloriose et cum magna processione fratrum altissime cantando per pontem apportatum sepelissent.

‡ Non attendentes, quod anima illius cum divite epulone fuisset in inferno sepulta.

§ Eos, qui se dicunt columnas ecclesiæ, per villas, civitates, castra discurrentes vidisses, sed infra duos menses vel quod amplius ad monasteria non redeuntes, et nil aliud ita ferventia sicut "Date nobis, et orabimus pro vobis" prædicantes, et tantum quæ sua sunt, et non Jesu Christi quærentes, et infinita scandala in ecclesia ponentes.

|| Videntes se ab omnibus auditoribus suis derelictos.

¶ Alibi vel in suis monasteriis populum nullum, sed quatuor beginas vel quinque in sermonibus suis Teutonicis, ut hodierna declamat evidentiâ.

they made use of these women, who were so devoted to them, as tools to get up a party against Conrad, whom they hated. "Then I saw," he writes, "that they whispered, in their corners, calumnious reports about my sermons and my doctrines, that they muttered against me, and through their Beguins inflamed the minds of the people with hostility to my doctrine; and that they declaimed against me in the public market-place," &c.* Applying to his own case the parable of the sheep and good shepherd, he says of his opponents: "Should they come into my fold, I do not believe that *my flock* would be led far astray by them; but *I* would give them a taste of the salt of God's word; for these sheep will not care for the barren and perhaps noxious pasturage which others would give them, but, as I hope, will follow the voice of their shepherd, when they hear it, as the salt which cannot lose its savour."† The mendicant monks reproached him with having forsaken his parish, and made his appearance ere called for, as a preacher in Prague. But he met them by appealing to the divine call which had moved him to preach in Prague, characterising these monks themselves, who would hinder another from preaching, as dumb dogs.‡ He says: "He who is afraid to speak the truth, is not a true preacher sent of God. Unmoved, therefore, will I praise the Word, O Lord, in thee, and not be afraid. I long after the glory of our Saviour." "While I am willing to answer them," he says, "who say Christ has not sent me, I am greatly at a loss when I ask what the proof is of their own mission. For if we look at the heart and the conduct as the proof of those who are sent of God, it will be evident that by them the rules of Christ are not at all observed. For Christ said to his preachers, when he sent them forth, Freely ye have received, freely give. But no sooner have they a congre-

* Et per Beginas suas homines inducere ad oppositionem doctrinæ meæ et in publico foro declamare, cæt.

† Non credo, quod amplius sinant se duci per ipsos oviculas meas, sed dabo eis de sale verbi Dei, sicut potero ad lingendum, quia non curabunt infructuosa et forte noxia pascua aliorum, sed suum pastorem audientes, ut spero, vocem ejus sequentur tanquam sal non infatuandum.

‡ Populum, quos tum etiam recedente me non multum curassent, cum omnes facti sint quasi canes muti.

gation, than they set up a money table to make money out of their hearers." When Conrad had thus turned against him the hatred of the mendicants, no pains were spared on their part to convict him of heresy, and expose him to persecution. They forgot the mutual jealousies and animosities which generally divided Dominicans and Franciscans, and entered into a league against their common enemy. He compared one of these coalitions with the alliance of Herod and Pilate against Christ.* As Conrad had won the warm esteem and affection of multitudes, his enemies by their persecutions of him drew the hatred of the people upon themselves, which they signified by frequently assaulting their agents, though never put up to this by Conrad. When they accused him of stirring up the people against them, he could reply to them with truth, that they had brought this shame upon themselves by their crafty plots against him, and would do so again, as often as they tried the same experiment.†

In the year 1364, when the general of the Dominican order, who was at the same time papal legate, visited Prague, the two orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans, of whom we have just spoken, drew up in concert 29 articles, which they had extracted from his sermons, and placed them in the hands of the archbishop of Prague, that he might be brought up for examination on these charges. The archbishop upon this convoked an assembly which was numerous attended; but, on the day appointed for the trial, no one dared to appear against Conrad as a public accuser. He afterwards composed a paper in defence of himself, of which we have freely made use in the preceding narrative. He showed, first, that his opponents had either exaggerated or misconstrued his language; then he repeated, for substance, what he had actually said, and what had induced his opponents to accuse him of heresy. When they complained that he disturbed everywhere the public peace, his reply was: "I say, that in my sermons I never aimed at disturbing the public peace, and never have disturbed it;

* His words are: Duo magni hostes sibi mutuo fuerunt conciliati.

† Ipsi sibi ipsis causa horum opprobriorum præteritorum et interea secutorum et etiam futurorum per suam indiviosam et malitiosam mei vexationem.

I mean the peace of the good." He adverts to the example of Christ, who, in his intercourse with the scribes and Pharisees, undoubtedly disturbed the peace; even as he said, I am not come to bring peace on the earth, but a sword. "When I am complained of, then, for disturbing such peace as this, I take it cheerfully," for our Lord says: "So persecuted they the prophets which were before you," &c. He refers to the zeal of Elisha against the golden calves set up by Jeroboam, and remarks: "These golden calves, many in our time would be strongly opposed to have thus thrown away. They would prefer to have them used to decorate the bodies of the saints, and thus add to their gains.* Oh, how many are there, who would suffer a great deal for their order, but who could not be induced to suffer even a little in the way of preaching the pure truth!" Still later in the season of the same year, the archduke Rudolph of Austria, being on a visit to Prague, wished to get Conrad back again to Vienna; but the latter could not be induced to go, being fully persuaded that it was his duty to remain still in the blessed circle of his labours in Prague, whatever persecution he might have to encounter. He pleaded the obligations under which he had been laid by the emperor as his excuse for not accepting the invitation.† Thus Conrad continued to labour in Prague, finally as parish priest of the Teyn church, till his death, which happened in 1369.

If the two persons of whom we have just spoken were distinguished for their activity as practical men, and prepared the way by this means for the reformatory tendencies in the Bohemian church, the same thing cannot indeed be said of Matthias of Janow; but his inferiority as a practical man was more than compensated by the wide influence he exerted through his writings and by his scientific exposition of principles. In his works we may find not only the reformatory ideas which passed over from him to Huss, but also the incipient germs of those Christian principles which at a later period were unfolded, in Germany, by Luther,

* His words: *Quos nostri temporis quidam nequaquam sic abjicerent, imo inde sanctorum corpora, ut inde consequerentur majora lucra, vestirent.*

† His words: *Me hoc facere non posse, qui per dominum imperatorem essem beneficiatus.*

although the latter never came directly under the influence of Matthias of Janow. Of Huss it may be said with more truth, that he fell behind Matthias of Janow, than that he passed beyond him. Matthias of Janow, son of Wenzel of Janow, a Bohemian knight, had resided six years at the university of Paris, pursuing philosophical and theological studies; hence he was called the Parisian master (*magister Parisiensis*). But the man who contributed most to the particular shaping of his later religious and theological development was Militz, a man the general impression of whose life filled him with such profound and enthusiastic admiration. It is plain, from his writings, that he had travelled much in Germany and in Italy; and that he had visited Rome. He shows a familiar acquaintance with the relations and the customs of different countries. Thus, in speaking of his residence in Lucca, under pope Urban VI., he mentions a law which he there heard promulgated, directing that unmarried females should neither wear ornaments of gold or silver, nor any dress offending against the strictest rules of moral propriety.* He seems in the earlier part of his life, to have been given to the prevailing notions and tendencies of his time; until, perhaps through the influence of Militz, he became penetrated with that holy fire, as he expresses it, which left him no rest.† In still another place, he speaks of this revolution in his religious experience, stating how, in the light of God's word, the corruption of the church of his time, by which he himself was affected, first became clearly apparent to him, and how, by the grace of God, he had been rescued from it. "Once," says he, "my mind was encompassed by a thick wall; I thought of nothing but what delighted the eye and the ear, till it pleased the Lord Jesus to draw me as a brand from the burning. And while I, worst slave to my passions, was resisting him in every way, he delivered me from the flames of Sodom, and brought me into the place of sorrow,

* *Sed et in Lucca solemniter in Lombardia civitate tempore papæ Urbani VI. audiui publice per vicos et plateas voce præconis proclamari, quod mulieres innuptæ non deferant aurum et argentum, nec non alias quascunque vestes impudicas et profanas.* In his book hereafter to be cited.

† We shall presently cite these words more at length.

of great adversities and of much contempt. Then first I became poor and contrite; and searched with trembling the word of God. I began to admire the truth in the holy Scriptures, to see how, in all things, it must be exactly fulfilled; then first I began to wonder at the deep wiles of Satan, to see how he darkened the minds of all, even those who seemed to think themselves wisest." After describing how he thus came to understand the corruption of the church,* he says: "And there entered me, that is, into my heart, a certain unusual, new, and powerful fire, but a very blessed fire, and which still continues to burn within me, and is kindled the more in proportion as I lift my soul in prayer to God and to our Lord Jesus Christ the crucified; and it never abates nor leaves me, except when I forget the Lord Jesus Christ, and fail to observe the right discipline in eating and drinking; then I am enveloped in clouds, and unfitted for all good works, till, with my whole heart and with deep sorrow I return to Christ, the true physician, the severe judge, he who punishes all sin, even to idle words and foolish thoughts."† And he moreover intimates that, before this, he shared in an opinion which belonged to the common church spirit, though a new light dawned afterwards on his mind; he thought, namely, before he had experienced that internal change in his views and feelings, with the majority of the clergy, that the laity ought to be kept from frequent participation of the Lord's supper. He

* *Et piissimus Jesus elevavit mentem meam, ut cognoscerem homines absorptos a vanitate; et tunc legens intellexi lucide abominationem desolationis, stantem late, nimis alte et firmiter in loco sancto cæt. De sacerdot. et monach. carnalium abominatione, in Huss's Works, Norib. 1558, I. fol. 398, p. 2, cap. 22.*

† *Et ingressus est in me, id est in pectus meum, quidam ignis etiam corporaliter subtilis, novus, fortis et inusitatus, sed valde dulcissimus: et continuatus usque modo, et semper tanto magis succenditur, quanto magis elebor in oratione ad Deum et Dominum Jesum Christum crucifixum; et nunquam recedit, vel remittitur, nisi quando obliviscor Christi Jesu, quando relaxo disciplinam in comedendo vel potando. Ibid.* This extract is taken from a piece in the above-cited work of Janow, which may be found, under the title *De sacerdotum et monachorum carnalium abominatione*, printed among the works of Huss, and under his name, I. fol. 376, seq. I was betrayed into a mistake when I made use of this extract as belonging to Huss, in my account of the life of that reformer, in my "*Kleine Gelegenheitschriften*." Berlin, 1829, S. 223.

himself says: "Concerning the jealousy and pride of those clergymen who are displeased with the frequent participation of the Lord's supper by the laity, I am silent; since I was myself, in like manner, under the influence of such feelings in former days; and I am conscious that I was, myself, oftentimes actuated by such jealousy when I, in like manner, dissuaded lay persons from such frequent enjoyment of the communion. I had not, as yet, experienced the singular light on this subject which came to me from above."* These words certainly do not refer merely to a change in his views on a particular point, but to one of a much deeper and more radical character; for it is evident from them, that at an earlier period of his life he was affected with the same spiritual pride, the same contempt of the laity which others had; was conscious of being an utter stranger to those ideas, that dawned later upon him, with regard to the universal priesthood of Christians. In the year 1381, he became a prebendary at Prague; and the experience which he here gained of the worldliness of the higher clergy in the meetings of the cathedral chapter, is alluded to by himself, where he complains of the noisy squabbles of the procurators and advocates; "which," says he, "any one will have it in his power to witness who is ever employed in their consistories."† It was his particular business to preside over the confessional, where doubtless would be manifested his great zeal for the spiritual good of souls, and where he had great opportunity to inform himself more minutely of the good or bad in all classes of society, and of the religious wants of the people. That he did not fail to make the most of it is apparent from the observations which he has recorded in a work of his pre-

* *Taceo super hoc, de invidia et superbia talium, quibus vexantur, cum indignantur de communione frequente a plebejis, quia talibus fui obnoxius similiter, et me ipsum agitatum pluries invidia recognovi, cum similiter talem frequentem communionem sacramenti dissuadebam plebejis; adhuc non eram singulari lumine super hoc de excelso visitatus.*

† *Lites, contentiones, strepitus—, quod videre poterit, qui in consistoriis illorum fuerit aliquando occupatus.* See the fragment from the work of Matth. of Janow about to be mentioned, which wrongly goes under the name of Huss, in his work *De Regno, Populo, Vita et Moribus Antichristi*, cap. 21, fol. 374, p. 2.

sently to be mentioned. He died before the end of the century, in the year 1394.

The work from which we get the clearest insight into the spirit and influence of Matthias of Janow, is a piece of his own which still remains, in great part,* buried in manuscripts, entitled *De Regulis Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. The exegetical matter forms the smallest part of the whole. It is chiefly taken up with reflections on the history of the times and hints concerning the future, based on the rules of the Old and New Testaments, on the prophetic elements which they contain. Although there is a great deal in the details which is arbitrary, particularly in the apocalyptic calculations, yet grand prophetic glances into the future are also to be found. He portrays the utter corruption of the church in all its parts, and explains the causes of it. His full intuition of the present is here presented to view. It is not a coherent exposition: it seems to be made up of several independent treatises composed at different times. Hence we may notice repetitions; certain fundamental ideas are ever turning up again. As a chronological characteristic we may notice, for example, that in one place seven years are supposed to be expunged after the beginning of the great papal schism which would bring it down to the year 1385; but, in other places, we find him referring to the synod held in Prague, in 1389, of which we shall speak hereafter. Matthias of Janow himself, speaking of the motives which induced him to write this work, says: "The Lord Jesus instructed me how to write all this which relates to the present condition of priests, that is, the carnal ones, and which throws light on the character of these times; but what the end is in which all this is to result, he only knows who set me to work. And he sent me his spirit who shoots the fire into my bones and into my heart, leaving me no rest till I expose the hidden shame of the mother of harlots (the corrupt church as symbolized in Revelation)."† He has many things to complain of in the

* All except the fragment above cited and published under the name of Huss. Some interesting extracts from the work have been recently published by P. Jordan, in his paper, "Die Vorläufer des Hussitentums in Böhmen."

† Dominus Jesus instituit me ad scribendum ea omnia, quæ con-

clergy; that they were absorbed in worldly business, governed by worldly motives; that they neglected spiritual things; that the least of all their concerns was the study of the Bible and of the old church-teachers. He speaks of them as "Men who knew nothing of the spirit of Jesus the crucified, who had never meditated day and night on the law of the Lord;—carnal-minded priests. They are men," he proceeds, "who are not wholly devoted to the study of the holy Scriptures, who have not been instructed in them from their youth, yet, for all this, they boldly stand forth as teachers, because perhaps they possess a certain gift of elocution; and they provide themselves with collections of sermons, postills for every day in the year, and so, without any further search into the holy Scriptures, they hold forth those current homilies, preaching with great ostentation. They are people who know nothing about the Bible. Such persons do not preach from devotion, and from joy in the Divine Word, nor from zeal to edify the people; but because this is the business assigned to them, or because they are fond of making a display of their skill in speaking, or because they are hunting after popularity, and find gratification in being favoured and honoured by the people. So they have recourse to their collections of sermons, or put together fine words, and furnish out their discourses with stories, and with promises of large indulgences." It was already objected to the preachers of reform, to Janow, and men of a kindred spirit, that they exposed to the people, in the spoken language of the country, the wickedness of the clergy and monks, thus injuring their reputation. In defending himself against this reproach, Janow says, alluding to the words of Christ, (Matt. xvi. 6.): "Here we find plainly refuted, those who in their sermons say the vices of the regular clergy and monks ought not to be exposed in discourses held in the spoken language of the country." The clergy and monks were not a little exaspe-

tingunt statum præsentem sacerdotum, puta carnalium, et quæ explicant qualitatem horum temporum; ad quem autem finem hoc perveniat, ipse solus novit, qui me in id posuit; et misit me spiritus ejus, qui mittit ignem in ossibus meis et in meo pectore, et quietum esse non sinit, quin revelem filium iniquitatis et perditionis, et quin denudem ac discoöperiam abdita decoris fornicariæ mulieris.

rated by such admonitory discourses to the people. This preaching, they said, made them contemptible and odious to the people; as if they themselves did not know or want to know the course pursued by Jesus the crucified; for he *purposely* exposed before the masses of the people the hypocrisy and wickedness of the religious orders of the teachers and priests, and exhorted his disciples to beware of their doctrines, although these priests were filled with rage and took the utmost offence at this. He offers as reasons for pursuing this course with the people, that it was necessary in order that the devout clergy and monks might not suffer injury from being confounded with those others, in order that the piety of the former might shine forth more conspicuously in contrast with the wickedness of the latter, in order that these latter might by such public exposure be led to repentance, in order that others might be put on their guard against the infection of their example. Like dis-tempered sheep they should be separated from the sound, lest other Christians should fall into the same corruption. In remarking upon the words of Christ relative to the sending forth of the angels before the day of judgment, (Matt. xiii. 41,) which he refers to the sending forth of messengers or preachers, in the last times, for the purpose of purifying the church from its dross, he says:—It is to subserve also another purpose, to keep the simple people from following after ravening wolves, to make them certain of the guides whom they should adhere to, and of those whose counsels they should avoid; and, again, to remove from the sinful laity every such ground of excuse for their vices, as they plead when they say to those who correct them, do not the monks and the clergy even the same? On the other side it was maintained, that even in wicked ecclesiastics their office should be respected; no man could be permitted to set up himself as judge over them, contrary to the rules of order; and, in proof of this, the appeal was made to Matt. xxii. 2, 3. To this he replies:—Such language of reproof is pointed expressly against hypocrites, who enter not by the door into the sheepfold. All such are thieves and robbers. Hypocrites will not punish and betray one another. They can be known as such only by the spiritually minded. They do not know themselves.

Christ, in the passage already referred to, (Matt. xvi. 6,) exhorts to watchfulness. Janow describes it as one of the cunning tricks of the arch-enemy to persuade men that Antichrist is still to come, when, in truth, he is now present and so has been for a long time; but men are less on their guard against him, when they look for him as yet to come. "Lest," says he, "the abomination of desolation," (Matt. xxiv. 15,) should be plainly manifest to men, he has invented the fiction of another abomination still to come, that the church, plunged still deeper in error, may pay homage to the fearful abomination which is present, while she pictures to herself another which is still in the future.* It is a common every-day fact, that Antichrists go forth in endless numbers, and still they are looking forward for some other and future Antichrist." As to the person of Antichrist, he affirms, that it was neither to be a Jew, nor a Pagan; neither a Saracen, nor a worldly tyrant persecuting Christendom. All these had been already; hence they could not so easily deceive. Satan must invent some new method of attacking Christianity. He then defines Antichrist as follows: "He is and will be a man who opposes Christian truth and the Christian life in the way of deception; he is and will be the most wicked Christian, falsely styling himself by that name, assuming the highest station in the church, and possessing the highest consideration, arrogating dominion over all ecclesiastics and laymen; one who, by the working of Satan, knows how to make subservient to his own ends and to his own will the corporations of the rich and wise in the entire church; one who has the preponderance in honours and in riches, but who especially misappropriates the goods of Christ, the holy Scriptures, the sacraments, and all that belongs to the hopes of religion, to his own aggrandizement and to the gratification of his own passions; deceitfully perverting spiritual things to carnal ends, and in a crafty and subtle manner employing what was designed for the salvation of a Christian people, as means to lead them astray

* Ne tamen ipsa abominatio reveletur, fingit aliam abominationem affuturam, ut per hoc amplius immittat ecclesiam in errorem, quatenus sic horrendam abominationem venerans atque colens, nihilominus unam aliam futuram fabuletur.

from the truth and power of Christ." It is easy to see how Matthias of Janow might intend under this picture to represent the entire secularized hierarchy. It was not to be imagined that Antichrist would form a particular sect, or particular disciples and apostles. Nor would he come upon the church preaching his own name, in the open and obvious manner with which Mohammed spread abroad his doctrines; that would be a tyranny too strikingly apparent, not at all fitted to deceive mankind. Antichrist must be more cunning than all that. His organs must stand forth in the name of Christ, and profess to be his ministers. He was thus to deceive men under the mask of Christianity.* The multitude of carnal men, led on by the most subtle artifices of wicked spirits, had been brought to think that, in following fables, they were pursuing the right way; to believe that in persecuting Christ's believers, or Christ and his power, they were persecuting Antichrist and the false doctrines of his agents, just as it happened with those Jews and Pagans who called Christ a deceiver, and put him and his apostles to death, supposing that by so doing they did God service. Thus, too, the actual Antichrists would dream of another Antichrist to come. Commenting on 1 John iv. 3,† he thus addresses the Christians of his time: "Every spirit who dissolves Christ, is Antichrist." Jesus is all power, all wisdom, and all love. Every Christian, therefore, who from design, either in great or in small, in a part or in the whole, dissolves this, dissolves Jesus; for he destroys and dissolves God's power, God's wisdom and love; and so, in the mystical sense, he is Antichrist. An Antichrist is every evil spirit, who in any way, directly or indirectly, opposes himself to the Christian faith and Christian manners among Christians." Although Christ is eternal, and therefore all opposition to the divine being may be regarded as

* Non est autumandum, quod isdem antichristus congregaret sibi aliquam sectam singularem, vel discipulos et apostolos, suis iniquis studiis consentientes, sic ut notorie et publice ecclesiam invadet, atque verbo suo et prædicatione sui nominis in populis manifeste gentes per se seducet, veluti fecit Machometus in Saracenis; non faciet tali modo, nam hoc fieret tyrannice solum et nimis manifeste, vel stolide et rude.

† After the Vulgate: Et omnis spiritus, qui solvit Jesum, ex Deo non est. Et hic est antichristus, de quo audistis quoniam venit, et nunc jam in mundo est.

in a certain sense opposition to Christ, still, in the proper sense, he thinks there was no Antichrist before the incarnation.* Hence the devil, although a liar and murderer from the beginning, yet first began to be Christ's murderer, and Antichrist, at the beginning of the Christian church; but not everywhere, but only in the church which is the body and the kingdom of Christ. Before the time of Christ's appearance, Satan did not need many arts to maintain his dominion over men. For Satan had already brought mankind once under his yoke; and strongly armed he kept watch over his palace, (Luke xi. 21.); his goods were in peace, and he needed not give himself much trouble or use much deception. But when Christ appeared, and the Spirit was poured out upon men in sevenfold gifts, (compare Isaiah xi. 2,) when everything visible and invisible was made ministrant to their salvation, (where he refers to Romans viii. 38,) the case was altered. And as the evil spirit was now disarmed and laid bare by Christ, he must summon to his aid the collective host of most malignant spirits, and employ their busy and cunning natures in the work of deceiving and warring against the saints of God. "And so he has continued to do, down to the present day. Nothing is weaker than Satan when exposed to the light.† He works through worthless monks; carnal priests; the wise of this world; great teachers; for these are his most efficient tools of mischief." Applying to his own times the passage in 2 Thess. ii. 9, he seeks to show, that in those times, also, Antichrist deceived and drew men to himself by false miracles, wonders wrought by Satanic agency, thus turning the love of the miraculous to his own ends. "Our modern hypocrites," says he, "are so fully possessed of the seven spirits, that there is nothing they can approve, in deed or word, however otherwise profitable or commendable, unless they see signs and wonders. And, in truth, they ask for signs more than even the Jews did; thus showing that they are a still more perverse and adul-

* Sed non fuit antichristus, quia tunc adhuc non erat Christus, quia secundum modum loquendi logice, licet ista propositio sit vera, Christus semper fuit, tamen hæc est vera, ante incarnationem Filii Dei non fuit antichristus.

† Nihil imbecillius diabolo denudato.

terous generation, than were the Jews in the time of Christ. This is hid from us, that for these many years genuine miracles have ceased to be wrought by the faithful; and especially now, in the time of Antichrist, for the trial of their faith." He supposes that as faith was to maintain itself in the time of Antichrist, under trials, miracles could not be given any longer for its support; false miracles only were to be permitted for the trial of faith. And then he says: "But Satan and his instruments are allowed to perform miracles by demoniacal agencies, on account of them that perish because they would not receive the love of the truth." In another place, he says: God suffers many works to be done by the agency of Satan, that hypocrites, in spite of their lukewarm and sensual life, may receive honour from men, and other simple ones may be drawn over by such wonders to their side. And the more such wonders are done in the name of Christ, through images and relics of saints, or in holy places, the more dangerous they are, on account of their greater influence in misleading the simple into false doctrines, so as to neglect the truth of the sacraments of the church, and to surrender themselves to fables and human ordinances, and the superstition of sellers in the house of God. Such delusions, he thinks, Satan was allowed to practise, particularly on account of those unthankful Christians, who were ashamed of the truth and humility of Christ, and of the opprobrium of his cross, despising the sacraments and especially the body and blood of Christ; and even the holy Scriptures had become to them common and contemptible as if they were a fable, or a very lovely song.* Therefore had the devil obtained from the Lord so much power to deceive; but only in secret, only in the mystery of Antichrist; so that his ministers should lie in the name of Christ, and that their miracles should be wrought through the image of Christ, and through the bones and other relics of saints. "For, before God I ask you, how can any faithful Christian wonder, if Satan receives power to execute divine judgment on evil-doers, that his lying wonders should be

* *Verbum Dei quoque et omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata facta iis est nimis communis et inveterata et levis, tanquam fuit fabulæ vel canticum, quod dulciter sonat.*

wrought even through images or the bones of the saints, when power was given him over Christ in the temptation?"

The prediction in the second epistle to the Thessalonians (ii. 3) relative to the falling away which should come first, Janow supposes had been already accomplished in the moral falling away. "Faith," he says, "is styled *fides formata*, because it is made up of all the virtues. For it requires all other virtues in connection with itself, and is kept fresh and sound by every virtue.* Hence it follows, that a falling away from the faith consists especially in the admission of every kind of sin, and the omission of every kind of virtue; "and because we see, on the whole, at the present day, in the time of Antichrist, all the virtues neglected among Christian people."† He holds to a slow and gradual evolution of the two kingdoms of Christ and Antichrist, side by side. The destruction of Antichrist and the multiplication of the true witnesses of Jesus Christ, were to take place in a gradual manner, beginning from that present time, till all should be carried into fulfilment. The time had begun in the year 1340; where we are to observe, that Satan had been gradually working, through Antichrist as his instrument, for a long period of time, introducing evil under the appearance of good among the people of God, turning good customs into abuse, diffusing more widely, every day, his principal errors. While Satan, then, was thus gradually to introduce the mysteries of his Antichrist into the church, keeping his toils concealed; so, on the other hand, the Lord Christ, gradually manifesting himself in his beloved disciples, was at length, before the final judgment, to reveal himself in a great multitude of preachers. The spiritual revelation of Christ, through his genuine organs, the spiritual annihilation of Antichrist by the same, and a new illumination of the church, were to prepare it for the last personal appearance of Christ, and precede that event. In this spiritual sense he understood much of that

* *Fides Jesu formata ideo dicta, quia componitur ex omni virtute, vel quia correquirit et integratur ex omni virtute.*

† *Sequitur, quod discessio a fide maxime sit per admissionem cujuslibet peccati et per omissionem cujusque virtutis, et quia in summa hodie videmus in tempore Antichristi fieri omissionem omnis virtutis in populo Christiano.*

which is said concerning the victory of Christ over Antichrist, and concerning the signs of Christ's appearance. Thus following Militz, he referred what Christ says respecting the sending forth of the angels to separate the good from the bad, to the sending forth of the true messengers of the faith, inspired preachers, who should effect a moral separation of the people in the corrupt church, so that the simple should no longer follow after ravening wolves, but know to whom they should adhere, and whose councils they should avoid, so that every excuse might be taken away from sinning laymen; who were wont to say to their reprovers, Why accuse me of this or that sinful action? Do not monks and priests even the same? Accordingly he says the expression that Christ will destroy Antichrist by the breath of his mouth, is not to be understood literally, but spiritually: that he will quicken, by his Spirit, his elect priests and preachers, filling them with the spirit of Elias and of Enoch, with the spirit of zeal and of innocence, with the spirit of a glowing zeal and of penitence, with the spirit of activity and of devotion; that he will multiply them in number and send forth his angels once more through the world, to banish all troubles and grievances from his kingdom, the Spirit of Christ working through them, most inwardly and effectually, kindling life in the dry bones, quickening anew the dead faith of many over the wide field of the church, so that the bones, clothed with flesh and blood, should awake to new life in the faith of the Son of God.* "And bound with each other in the unity of the life of Jesus, many should come together and be held in union by the cords of a glowing love; and such the communities would love, and would follow." Speaking of the signs of these times, he says: "As John the Baptist pointed a way to Christ, so these signs point a way impressively with their fingers to Antichrist, already coming; they point to him now and will point to him still more;

* Quod Dominus Jesus inspirabit suos electos sacerdotes et prædicatores, replens eos spiritu Eliæ et Enoch, spiritu zeli et innocentiae, spiritu fervoris et poenitentiae, spiritu strenuitatis et devotionis, multiplicabitque tales et mittet adhuc semel per mundum universum suos angelos, ut colligant de regno suo omnia scandala, Spiritu Jesu intime per eos operante et inflammante ossa arida, fidem mortuam multorum.

they have revealed him, and will reveal him, till the Lord shall destroy him with the breath of his mouth; and he will consume him by the brightness of his new revelation, until Satan is finally crushed under his feet. The friends of Christ, however, will destroy him, will rob him of his trade, the company of the preachers of Jesus Christ, united and bound together by the love and wisdom which come from God." All holy Scripture, he says, predicts, that before the end of the world the church of Christ shall be reformed, renovated, and more widely extended; that she shall be restored to her pristine dignity, and that still, in her old age, her fruitfulness shall increase.* "This is what most perfectly accords," he says, "with other passages of Scripture, in the Gospels and the Prophets, which declare that, at the end of the world, the church of Christ shall be reformed, that Sodom shall be restored to her former dignity, and that Elias shall come and restore again all things." We should here remark that Matthias, in this place, discards the old opinion that the prophet Elias was to come literally to prepare the way for Christ's second appearance, which had its advocates among his contemporaries; and maintains that this re-appearance of Elias was to be understood only in the spiritual sense; as he says: "Thinkest thou that divine truth, in this passage, points to the person of Elias, or rather to some other one filled with the spirit of Elias and enriched with his peculiar gifts? I believe, according to my own understanding of the place, that in these words the truth did not mean literally Elias, in the person of Elias, or not him alone, but rather the spirit and the power of Elias in the multitude of holy preachers and teachers, through whom his overflowing spirit should restore all things, and that this coming was to animate the dry bones. Were the former Elias to come bodily from paradise, as some have for a long time believed he would, it does not appear how one individual could run to and fro through the whole world, and by his own pains and preaching be able to restore the whole company of the elect, for this would surpass his power; but it is possible only through the

* This passage recurs again in the paper *De Regno etc. Antichristi*, printed in the works of Huss, (I. fol. 368,) except that in this copy a great deal is mutilated.

omnipotent Spirit of Jesus, that fills the whole world, who requires for his work not so much that literal Elias, since he can raise up from the very stones, from pagans and laymen, sons of Abraham, many Eliases: unless perhaps it might be said, it would be of use for Elias to come in person, in order that ignorant and negligent men might be convinced by his testimony. Yet this argument, as it seems to me, cannot hold, because holy Scripture gives answer, in those words addressed to the rich man in hell, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither would they be persuaded though one should rise from the dead (Luke xvi. 31). But suppose the case that Elias, coming in person, should give testimony to the truth; yet this would diminish the value of faith in the appropriation of Christianity, or indeed destroy its whole significance.* We see, from these words, how profoundly this man understood the nature of faith as an internal fact of the temper, the bent of the disposition to the godlike, where the act of apprehending in the act of surrendering one's self to the godlike, takes the place of a constraining evidence; as an affair of the will, which cannot be forced by any power from without, by any proofs that convince the understanding. He then proceeds: "Holy Scripture abundantly testifies that, in the last times, no miracles shall be wrought in proof of the truth; for the faith in Jesus shall then have reached its perfection, and so shall be preserved. Hence, too, all miracles have ceased on the part of God's saints, and the fabulous portents and prodigies of Antichrist have multiplied. No reason therefore remains, why the person of Elias should take upon himself the labour of restoring all that is in the condition of decline." And in this same connection he mentions Militz as one in whom Elias had re-appeared. He says that the parables of Christ relating to the process of preparation for the kingdom of God, the parables of the leaven and of the grain of mustard seed, would find their application, as in the primitive, so also once more and preëminently in the last times.

* Et nunc dato, quod Elias personaliter veniens veritati testimonium perhiberet, et inde videtur, et in religione Christiana excolenda, tunc jam per hoc meritum fidei evacuetur, aut utique eidem detraretur.

We will now endeavour to portray more minutely the character of Matthias of Janow, by observing how he attacks the corruptions of the church in its different relations and branches, tracing back these polemics to the fundamental intuitions bearing within them the germ of the reformation as it was afterwards realised by Luther. He looked upon the church as an organism in which all the members should be connected with each other according to their several gradations, and should coöperate together, like the head and different members of the human body. But now the case was quite otherwise; when the popes had haughtily placed themselves above the bishops, and taken all the power into their own hands, and stood in closer connection with the princes than with the bishops. "In the communities," says he, "the pope should first of all be leagued, and should be one hand with the bishops, and take special care that the bishops rightly discharge the functions of their office, and that they are quite familiar with those functions. But, in fact, he is more closely leagued with kings and princes, exalting himself above measure over those who, jointly with him, preside over the governance of the church. Besides this; breaking up the regular and orderly connection throughout the whole body, he has usurped to himself the distribution of benefices which belonged to the bishops. Neither do the bishops stand in that beautiful relation in which they ought to stand to the parish priests; but they place themselves too far above them, and would rule over the clergy. Thus the parish priests stand at a farther remove from the bishops than is right or profitable for the church; they are strangers and unknown to them. The bishops themselves have their most familiar intercourse with the barons of the land, with the princes, and with their own great canonicals, and the rich men of the world. They do not take all suitable pains for the good, useful, and wholesome placing of the parish priests, but are taken up with managing the affairs of the lords, and with other temporal and civil concerns; while other bishops are so wholly in *their own* devotion, as to bestow but little attention on their sons the parish priests. And hence arises great harm both to soul and body. Such sacrifices of

private devotion were not well pleasing to God. He describes the peace which they would conclude between themselves and God alone; the long psalms; the tender and perhaps tearful devotion; of all this he says: "Consider, how little acceptable it can be to the Lord, when he says to Peter, Lovest thou me more than these? (John xxi.), and, Feed my sheep; but did not say to him, Obtain peace for thyself in thy private residence. So again, the hearts of the parish ministers and priests are not bound up in true union with their communities, but are divided from them by many vain and frivolous concerns; especially do they hug closely to wealth, to honours, and their own emolument. For they too," he says of them, "put themselves too much above their communities, are too much estranged from them; have too much respect for persons." He says the people should be subject to the priests and the princes, to the former in spiritual, to the latter in temporal things; but the people are disobedient to the clergy, not so much through the fault of the people or of the princes, as through the fault of the licentious and carnal priests. "First," says he, "because we priests, descending to the love of this world, and given to fleshly pleasures, were robbed of the strength with which we were armed from above, as Samson of old was robbed by a harlot of his hair, we have become weak and foolish, like the kings and princes, and so contemptible to the people and to mankind; and hence the fear and veneration of the communities towards us has been extinguished, and the people are already discontented with being subject to us and with obeying us; so that where they cannot help themselves, they obey us only with disgust, because we are carnal and look only after our own comfort. Hence we have become pusillanimous and effeminate, exercising meditation but faintly and lukewarmly, and giving way from fear to those who invade our rights and liberties; and thus by degrees our authority and the weight of our influence has become nothing; the people have broke loose from it, since we take pleasure in the society of the friends of this world, and in having a share in whatever they love. And because *we* have not obeyed our God, with good reason we are not ourselves obeyed by those

who are under us; and because *we* have forgotten Jesus the crucified, the people have also forgotten *our* great power and *our* great authority; and because we have rejected the cross of Christ and its reproach which was our greatest glory, we have ourselves lost thereby our own good name. And because we sought the glory and honour of this world, the greatest abomination in the sight of the Lord Jesus the crucified, and of the church of the faithful, therefore are we become objects of abhorrence to him and to his saints, and in particular to the holy church militant; therefore has the left hand of the church, the secular arm, become too fat, and gained too great an extension in its flesh, the fleshly persons belonging to it; while the right hand, the spiritual authority and jurisdiction, is greatly wasted and weakened; and therefore has the right hand of the church, which should be filled with spiritual treasures, suffered itself to be filled rather, like the left hand, with the pleasures and honours of this world. To unite both together was impossible, as no man can serve two masters." He refers to the commission of the apostles, who were directed to take nothing for their journey, and to Peter's words—Silver and gold have I none. He endeavours to make it plain, by a comparison, how much depended on the character and ability of the *parish priest*. "We are to notice here," says he, "that the arm, however strong in itself, is still without any great power of lifting or holding, unless the *fingers* of the *hand* are strong."* Were the arm wounded, if but the fingers were healthy and strong, the hand would still be capable of doing a good deal, capable of managing weapons, &c.† He uses this figure to illustrate the great importance of the parish priests to the prosperity of the church; and the necessity of multiplying them. Even though the popes and the bishops should be negligent, weak, or in other respects incapable, as they often really were, yet if this company

* Unde hic est advertendum, quod omnis manus, quantumcunque sit fortis et robusta in brachiis suis, tenere tamen multa non potest vel comprehendere, nisi per summitates manus, vel per fortes et integros digitos.

† Et si digiti essent sani et fortes, manente alias tamen manu læsa in brachiis et vulnerata, adhuc tota manus esset capax armorum vel bonorum plurimorum.

of the devout priests, who were brought into immediate intercourse with the communities themselves, remained sound and capable, the folds of Christ would neither be scattered, nor neglected, nor subjugated by their enemies ; * because the Lord Jesus, through whose power alone these priests bring forth fruit in labouring for the salvation of souls, stands by them equally as well, replenishing his fellow-labourers and faithful ones, in equally as peculiar and direct a manner, with all the fulness of his grace and power."† It is evident, from these words, that although Matthias left the papacy with the entire hierarchical fabric untouched, yet an altogether different view of the nature of church governance lay at the basis of his ideas concerning the best condition of the church. The guidance of the church by means of the word, proceeding from the lips of the *parochial clergy*, was with him the main thing. He thought lightly of all the rest.

One reason of the corruption of the church appeared to him to be the overloading it with human ordinances, the excessive multiplication of ecclesiastical laws. Let us hear what he has to say on this subject. The multitude of commands and prohibitions is a wily trick of Satan to bring men under his yoke, and to entangle their souls ; since it invariably happens that the inferior clergy will, among the communities, do many things which are forbidden by their superiors, and omit to do many things which are prescribed by the ordinances of their superiors ; especially when these ordinances are become so multiplied, that to know them all, it would be necessary to provide one's self with many large volumes and to expend a great deal of money and time in studying them, ere it would be possible to have an exact knowledge and understanding of the whole. For by what

* Dato casu, ut plurimum fieri assolet, quod jam brachium episcoporum Romanorum vel alii episcopi inveniantur negligentes, debiles vel quovis modo vulnerati, tamen si hæc multitudo sanctorum sacerdotum applicata immediate plebibus integra et fortis manserit, tunc greges Christi Jesu adhuc non negligentur neque dispergentur neque expugnabuntur ab inimicis.

† Quia Dominus Jesus ipsis assistit æque bene et æque proprie et immediate cum suis coöperatoribus et suis fidelibus cum omni plenitudine gratiarum et virtute, cujus solius potestate isti sacerdotes fructum afferunt et in salute animarum proficiunt et operantur.

possibility could every individual clergyman become owner of the *Decretum* and the Decretals, the sixth book of the Decretals and the Clementines? The understanding of all this is so difficult, that hardly would a man of good abilities find it in his power to obtain a complete knowledge of the subject in three years. How can a pastor, occupied with looking after the spiritual welfare of the community entrusted to his care, find time for so tedious and exact a study, and make himself so familiar with those laws, that the decisions on every point should be ever present to his mind? * And yet this would be absolutely necessary for each individual, if he would avoid being entrapped in many things by Satan, and at length condemned as a transgressor. And while the parish priests are thus burdened, they on their own part burden the laymen, the communities, the heads of households, with extortions and human ordinances, devised for the purpose of gain; and deprive them of many of the liberties pertaining to divine worship. "And if one," says he, "should act differently from what these ordinances require, he knows that he must incur the anger of God and his saints, or the anathema. They have enthralled the conscience of the people, declaring the transgression of their rules to be a mortal sin; for in these days they lay more stress on a failure to observe minutely the order of the liturgy, than on the sins of lying, of a sleepy indolence, or covetousness, or anything of the like nature; so that men now-a-days are more afraid to transgress one of these human ordinances than the commandments of God himself." "The more ordinances there are," says he, "the more frequent are transgressions and the stronger the temptations to transgress. Neither do they consider how these multifarious ordinances force the multitude to despise them and the commandments of the Lord at the same time; which arises from the fact that he whose mind is turned on *many things*, is so much the less fitted for *single* duties; and from the fact that such ordinances, since they relate to sensible and outward things, appear to the communities in a pecu-

* Quomodo curatus occupatus in operibus salutis in plebes commissas potest ipsas ita per longa et diligentissima studia incorporare et ipsas familiares, sibi ita reddere, ut quælibet puncta in iis contenta semper et ubique ad manum habeat et in promptu.

liarly clear light, and inspire in them reverence ; while the commandments of God are spiritual, and God who ordains them is a Being whom they cannot see. Such ordinances, therefore, owing to the constant presence of the lawgiver, make a greater impression on the multitude than the commandments of the invisible God. Then, again, these commandments appear to carnal men as every-day matters ; while those human ordinances, being something new, make a stronger impression on the minds of the people. Again, men are fond of seeking their salvation in such sensible and corporeal things which lie near their capacities, and lose sight of the Crucified, who alone is the salvation of souls. And they settle it fast in their consciences, that they can be justified by such visible things, though the spiritual love of Christ may be absent from their hearts. He seeks to show *how* this multitude of laws, and this externalisation of religion, lead men away from Christ. "In these days," he says, "Satan has done much to draw away Christians from Christ ; for in these days men are ashamed even to mention Jesus the crucified, or him who was spit upon.* Nay, they abhor to hear such truths ; and they vehemently censure and persecute the persons who *thus* confess Christ. And such things have already been introduced into the pulpit ; so that those false prophets despise and persecute the men who confess Jesus who was crucified and spit upon, and say it is quite enough to pronounce such words *once* a-year :† and the same false prophets extol to the skies their stately ceremonies and their ordinances addressed to the eyes of the people, and pronounce anathema on every man who does not punctiliously observe them. Satan does all that lies in his power to bring it about that the memory of Jesus Christ should be obliterated from the hearts of Christians." Appealing to the apostle Paul, he maintains, that many laws avail nothing ; "for man's unbridled wickedness, ever striving to exceed weight and measure, will not be kept in check by human laws and ordinances, when it always despises the laws of God ; for it is continually breaking over the

* Idcirco hac via Satanas multum hodie profecit in Christianorum abductione, nam hodie jam Christiani horrent nominare Jesum crucifixum vel Jesum consputum vel suspensum in patibulo aut horrendo occisum.

† Et dicant, quod sufficit talia *semel* in anno nominare.

latter, and the more, with greater effort, greater pride and contempt, in proportion as it meets with obstacles to hinder it. Let not precepts and prohibitions, then, be multiplied in the church; for by means of them the devil has acquired a great power of involving the people in greater guilt; partly because, as has been said, he takes occasion from these ordinances to tempt them, and partly because these ordinances ensnare men's consciences, and make the sins of the unrighteous still heavier." He acknowledges that evil doers ought to be punished on account of their transgression of the commandments of the Lord, and ought to be restrained from the commission of sin, by terror; that those should be tamed and subdued by terror who still remain at a stage little superior to that of brutes, who have no understanding of that which is good.* But the righteous, they who are actuated by the Spirit of Jesus the crucified, stand in no need of multiplied human commands and prohibitions; because the Spirit of God guides and teaches them, and because they practise the virtues and obey the truths of God spontaneously and cheerfully, like a good tree, which brings forth good fruit of itself, God ever supplying the power from above;† because such, made free by the indwelling Spirit of Christ, generally feel themselves cramped and confined by the multitude of ordinances, even in the performance of virtuous works." He illustrates this by the case of the Jews who would have prevented Jesus from healing the sick because it was the sabbath-day; also by the case of the Pharisees, who would have kept Christ from plucking the ears of corn on the sabbath; and by the reply which he made to them (Matt. xii. 7). "No man," says he, "can possibly invent laws suited to every contingency and relation; the Spirit of God alone can do this, who knows all things and holds them together; and inasmuch

* Iniqui tamen indigent poena vel vindicta pro suis peccatis et pro transgressionibus praeceptorum Dominicorum; impediendi sunt a suis malis conatibus, vel in eorum prava voluntate per hujusmodi praecepta prohibitiva, quae parant viam justitiae ad vindictam exsequendam propter terrorem bestiarum, in quibus non est bonorum intellectus.

† Si vero sunt justi et acti Spiritu Jesu crucifixi, tunc hi non indigent mandatis et contradictionibus humanis plurificatis, tum quia docet eos et ducit Spiritus Dei, tum quia voluntarie et duleiter virtutes et veritates Dei operantur, tanquam bona arbor per se fructus bonos producens, Deo desuper dante.

as this Spirit is present everywhere and to all men, the spirit of man also, which is in himself, which with the Spirit of Christ alone knows what is in man. This spirit of man, which is everywhere in men, which everywhere searcheth the man as such, has the knowledge of his powers and of his wants, this alone can give to each man befitting laws and establish them." He brings in illustration of this the ten commandments, which are plain to every one, even the dullest of understanding, so that no man can pretend that he is embarrassed by them; and Jesus the crucified, who is the power of God and the wisdom of God, has in a certain manner briefly summed them up in a single precept, requiring love to God and our neighbour; for love is the fulfilment of the law, and love is the perfect law of liberty. "All other and multiplied laws of men," he says, "are superfluous and inadequate. They ought not to be called traditions, but superstitions. No man can frame a law adapted to all times and places and circumstances, which is not contained in that one precept. To the class above mentioned, he reckons the laws regulating fasts, seasons of prayer, the number of hymns which are to be sung, and the like. To them he ascribes frequent disquietude of conscience, which arose from the fear of having transgressed such laws. Confession to the priests served to illustrate the same thing, who made it much more a matter of conscience to have committed a mistake with regard to ecclesiastical hours, than to have transgressed any one of the laws of God. He wishes things might be so ordered that no other fear or punishment should ever be held up before subjects than in reference to the words of Jesus Christ and his commands. All other inventions of men should be regarded simply as counsels. At the same time, however, while he thus refers everything to the law of Christ as the only valid law, he defends himself against the objection, that by so doing he would overturn all human law, and says: "I have not been so presumptuous, I protest, as to attack the decrees and ordinances of the holy fathers and of the approved councils, who, actuated by the Holy Ghost, have so done and ordered all that has been done and ordered by them; but my attack is directed against those who, instead of being inspired by the love of Christ, strive and have striven, under the impulse

of their passions, to glorify themselves, and who take more delight in the glory of their *own* name, than in honouring the name of Jesus who was crucified." Thus human laws were to be recognised *only as such*, and the commandments of God to remain in their dignity, and as such to be revered and obeyed. This the faithful apostle of Christ, who might well serve as an example to all disciples, had wonderfully illustrated in himself: for Paul (in 1 Cor. vii.) distinguishes what he says in his own name from what he makes known as a precept of the Lord. "Mark," says he, "with what discrimination and moderation he speaks to his flock, so as nowhere to impose a necessity and nowhere to inspire fear, except for the precepts and words of the Lord Jesus Christ." He places in contrast with this the form of the papal bull: *Jubemus mandamus, &c.* Following directly after this is a prophetic utterance: "I speak to all; let him who is capable of receiving it, receive it. So have I gathered from the holy Scriptures, and I believe, *that all the above-named works of men, ordinances and ceremonies, would be utterly extirpated, cut up by the roots and cease; and God alone will be exalted, and his word will abide for ever; and the time is close at hand when these ordinances shall be abolished.*"* In another place he says: "All rules are one; they proceed from one principle and aim at one end. They do not obtain their authority from themselves, nor are they observed in the church of God on their own account; but they are inseparably included in *the same* holy law of Christ, which is inscribed by the Holy Spirit on the hearts of believers, which binds many widely-separated nations in union with one another, and makes all dwell with *one* set of manners in the house of Jesus the crucified.† While the *one* commandment of Christ, and his *one* sacrifice preserved in the church, greatly promote unity, so, on the other hand, the multitudinous prescriptions of men burden and disturb the collective

* Et puto, quod omnia prænotata opera hominum, cærimoniarum et traditiones funditus destruentur et cessabunt, et exaltabitur Deus solus. et verbum ipsius manebit in æternum, et tempus illud jam instat, in quo illa evacuabuntur.

† Regulæ omnes sunt unum et ex uno ad unum, non autem per se celebratæ et auctoritatæ in Dei ecclesia, ut definitæ seorsim, sed inclusæ indivisibiliter in una eademque sancta lege et regula christiana a Christo Jesu tradita per Spiritum Sanctum in cordibus fidelium descripta.

body of the church of Christ." He is continually falling back on the principle, that unity among men can only come from the word of God; a forced uniformity would of necessity produce nothing but divisions. He endeavours also, in his own way, to establish this principle speculatively. God alone is the infallible and self-sufficient being, needing no rules from without to govern his conduct. His own will is his rule, and his wisdom is the immutable rule for that. This supreme rule is the Father himself; the Son of God is the rule for all creatures. This primal type and this rule is the Word of the Father; the Father worketh everything through him; and after the same analogy, the Holy Spirit is the beauty and the proportion of this rule, which nowise differs in essence from that primal type; hence the Holy Spirit and the Word are the only true rule for all that relates to man; hence, therefore, the Father is the shaping principle, from which all things proceed; the Son the shaping principle towards which all things aim; the Holy Ghost the principle in which all things repose; and yet there are not three rules or forms, but *one*. Hence he infers that the highest rule, by which everything is to be tried, is Christ, that single rule, which is alone necessary and alone sufficient for all apostles and every man that cometh into the world, in all matters, in every place, and at all times; not only for men, but also for angels, because he is himself that truth and wisdom which works mightily from one end of being to the other. God imparted to all essences a tendency and direction to their ultimate end, and in their just relation to that consists their perfection and the perfection of the universe. This is the inmost determining rule for each essence, but it is a thing not different from the essence of the object itself. The rule by which all things are governed is a different matter. This, holy Scripture calls by various names, God's word, God's will, &c. Although this is the common rule for all, yet it is the rule pre-eminently for rational beings; because other beings cannot conscientiously apprehend it, nor freely appropriate it as their own.* Then he comes upon the idea of positive law,

* Quoniam omnes res aliæ a rationalibus creaturis, quamvis ab hac veritate et secundum eam gubernantur pro sua natura vel forma, tamen eandem non cognoscunt, neque habent in suis operationibus electionem.

and says: "This has not been able to reform rational beings who have fallen from the truth inwardly inscribed on their hearts; but rather became an occasion of still greater departures from order, and internal hardness through sin. Sin, he remarks, with allusion to the well-known words of the apostle Paul, became still more sin than it was before, from the very circumstance that it was now forbidden not only by the law within, but by another from without.* For the more men are provided with means of grace, the more knowledge they have, the greater in the same proportion is their guilt, when, on account of sin, these means and this knowledge are despised. God now finally determined to communicate to man his will in the most perfect manner, by teaching him, through the Holy Spirit, all truth in a living way; and here he cites the words—It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; and outwardly he set before him his will through the revelation of the incarnate Word; reminding man of his duty in a way the most cogent and the most effective, both from within, by the incarnate Word that dwells in us, and from without, by his divine works standing before our eyes; from within, by grace and love, from without, by the sacraments which contain and produce grace. This internal inscription of the truth upon the heart, includes in it the two preceding revelations of it (he means, without doubt, positive law and the law of conscience), and has vivified and reformed them."† After having spoken, as already before, of the simplicity of the ten commandments, and of the fact that these had been summed up in the one commandment of love, he observes that Jesus, who simplifies everything, had abolished the multitude of sacrifices and ceremonies, and substituted in their place the one heavenly sacrifice: this was so ordered for the purpose of preserving unity in the church. Even the apostles had subsequently imposed no new ordinances, or but very few, and they had given no other commandment than the love of God and of our neighbour, which last they had sought chiefly to commend, to im-

* Multo magis enim peccatum peccantis tunc erat, quam prius, quia jam de intus et foris peccatum prohibebatur.

† Hæc itaque veritatis inscriptio collegit in se ambas præcedentes, easque vivificavit et reformavit.

press, and to spread abroad among the nations. Hence Christ had left no written law for those who came after him, though he might, in various ways, have done so during his lifetime; but he only gave his good Spirit, the Spirit of the Father in the hearts of the faithful, as the alone living and perfect law, and the all-sufficient rule of life. So, too, the apostles had given but few laws, since they doubtless knew, that the law of the Holy Spirit sufficed, which teacheth all truth, always, everywhere, in the most internal and immediate way. This led him to explain himself on a matter which seemed to be at variance with these views, viz. the apostolical ordinances of the assembly at Jerusalem. We will cite this remarkable passage, which contains a great deal of good sense. "The apostles let themselves down to the weakness of the new converts from Judaism; and by so doing they softened, in some measure, the hostile tone of feeling entertained by the Jews towards the Christians; and they would show, thereby, their reverence for the ancient law, that the synagogue might not seem to be cast aside so all at once; for the ancient mother, who was now dead, should be buried in a respectful manner."* Having spoken next against the multiplying of laws, because of the difficulty which the laity must experience of knowing them all, he adds: "For this reason I have myself come to the settled conclusion that it would be a salutary thing, and calculated to restore peace and union to Christendom, to root up that whole plantation, and once more sum up the whole in that single precept, to bring back the Christian church to those sound and simple beginnings where it would be needful to retain but a few, and those *only* the apostolical laws. For I believe, before my Lord Jesus the crucified, that the law of the Holy Spirit, and the common fathers, the parish priests, the pope and the bishops, parochial clergy and their assistants, all these are sufficient for the right guidance of the communities, and that they are sufficient for each individual, sufficient to resolve every question, and to decide

* *Condescendentes infirmitati fratrum novitiorum ex Judaismo conversorum, et per hoc compescentes aliquantulum Christianorum injuriam, et propter reverentiam legis veteris, ne tam cito refutata videretur synagoga, quia mater antiqua, jam mortua cum reverentia deduceretur ad sepulcrum.*

all matters before the judicial tribunals and the tribunal of conscience. From these principles he thinks it possible also to demonstrate that monastic orders are not needed for the governance of the church.

Though Matthias did not take any open stand against the hierarchical system, yet he appears nevertheless to have been a forerunner of Protestantism *in this*, that he everywhere holds distinctly up to view the immediate reference of the religious consciousness to Christ, and makes the *true* unity of the church to rest solely upon that foundation. But of the many passages relating to this point which might be cited, we will select only the following: "It is Jesus Christ himself, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit ever dwells in his church and in each, even most insignificant portion of it, holding together, sustaining and vitalizing the whole and all the parts, directly and from within giving growth outwardly to the whole and to each, even the most insignificant part. He is, therefore, himself the spirit and life of his church, his mystical body.* Jesus, the crucified, is the vine; and all the branches proceeding from him and abiding in him, have and ought to have respect to him alone,† and other foundation can no man lay than that is laid." This immediate reference of the religious consciousness to Christ being placed at the head, everything else must take its shaping accordingly; and we recognise here the germinal principle of a new spirit, destined to burst asunder the old forms under which the Christian spirit had been shackled and confined. He says, "All unity presupposes a reference to some principle."‡ But that which forms the unity of the church is

* Jesus est solus, qui cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu totæ ecclesiæ suæ et cuilibet parti ejus et minutissimæ semper assistens totum et quamlibet ipsius partem immediate atque intrinsece continet, sustentat et vivificat, dat incrementum toti et cuilibet et minimæ parti ejus, quapropter ipse est spiritus et vita suæ ecclesiæ et sui corporis mystici.

† Ad quam ipsum solum habent et debent habere totaliter suum respectum.

‡ Universitas dicitur ab uno aliquo, ad quod omnia supposita universitatis habent ordinem et attributionem, et nisi sit tale unum principale, a quo reliqua omnia et tale quid, quod posset formare de multis universitatem et conservare, non unitas neque universitas, sed dispersa diversitas esset.

the one God, one Lord, one Master, one religion, one law, one commandment.* “All Christians who possess the spirit of Jesus the crucified, and who are impelled by the same spirit, and who alone have not departed from their God, are the one church of Christ, his beautiful bride, his body; and they are not of this world, as Christ is not of this world, and therefore the world hates them. The unity that has proceeded from Christ he places in contrast with those antagonisms among men and nations that have grown out of their apostasy from God. “Difference creates the differences among nations and their mutual alienation from each other, just as, on the other hand, unity in the acknowledgment of one God contributes especially to bring about unity among nations.” This, he observes, was a thing well understood by the ancient kings, and especially by the Romans, who—which is undoubtedly a mistake so far as it concerns the Romans—endeavoured to bring all the nations which they subdued to the worship of one God such as they would have him to be. “Idolatry,” he says, “and apostasy from the true God, is not now merely what it was in earlier periods, gross idolatry in the proper sense; but the setting up of an idol in the mind and the affections, and placing such an idol in the temple of the Holy Ghost; that is, to love the present world, and that which is in the world, just this is apostasy from God, and idolatry.” “Since,” he says, “it is already the day of light and of truth; since in Jesus Christ the supreme God has already come so near to men; nay, the greatest union has taken place, of God with men and of men with God, because it is no longer God afar off, but a God near at hand, dwelling even now, in the most intimate manner, in the souls that are worthy of him;† since God has already appeared on earth, and walked with men, the very fact that Christians should suffer themselves to be engrossed by the cares of this world, that they should let their love and their imitation be directed to any other than Jesus Christ, the true

* Illud vero tale unum, faciens unitatem ecclesiæ est unus Deus, unus Dominus, unus Magister, una religio, una lex, unum præceptum.

† Quia jam est dies lucis et veritatis, propinquitæ summi Dei ad homines in Christo Jesu, imo unio maxima Dei ad homines et hominum cum Deo, quia jam factus est non Deus de longinquo, sed Deus de prope, imo Deus jam intime inhabitans animas dignas se.

God, or that they should make the home of their souls in this world rather than in the Lord their God, or that they should cling with their affections more to the world than to Christ, is plainly a falling away, an apostasy from God and a preference for idols in the spirit and temper of the soul, is already a separation from union with the body of Christ, and a becoming incorporated with the body of Antichrist, of the god of this world." Considering the matter from this point of view, he is of the opinion, that what St. Paul says of the apostasy of the last times, might already be applied to his own time. He says of his contemporaries: "They would attain to justification, and believe they can obtain it by many labours, with much expense, in the performance, even to satiety, of all the newly-appointed ceremonies; and yet Christ is become to their hearts as one dead; they have nothing of his spirit, they see and know him not. Hence they perform all their isolated works according to the letter, and in a spirit of fear according to the law: but they know nothing of the true liberty, of the freedom which is in the spirit of Jesus Christ. Hence they appear to be little if at all different from the scribes and Pharisees, among the ancient people of the Jews, on whom our Lord Jesus Christ often denounced woe; and the apostle Paul has often reproached such persons with apostatising from the Christian faith. And all holy Scripture, all Christian faith proclaims, preaches, and confesses, that Jesus Christ the crucified alone is the one Saviour, and the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth; that he alone is all power all wisdom for every Christian; he himself the alpha, the beginning and the end, and that every one who is longing and striving to be a just and virtuous man, must first of all and immediately put on Christ himself and his spirit, because he is himself the way, the truth, and the life. After him alone, first of all, and with the whole heart, we should seek; begin to glorify him and to carry him in our souls, who alone hath redeemed us at that great price, his precious blood. He charges it upon his contemporaries that when they separated faith from works in their mistaken search after self-righteousness, they substituted in place of the genuine Christian morality, a morality which they had

learned in the schools of ancient philosophy. "Because they did not like to retain Christ crucified in their knowledge, the Son of God gave them over to a reprobate mind (Rom. i. 28), to expend their efforts in building up their own righteousness; and they think they shall be able to attain to a virtuous life after the methods of Aristotle, of Plato, and the other philosophers, by their own efforts and virtuous habits."* On the basis of these general views he forms his conception of the church in its true sense, as a community taking its outward form from a principle within itself, by its common reference to Christ; he styles the church the body of Christ, the community of the elect.† For as he makes the Augustinian system his point of departure, he everywhere gives special prominence to the antithesis of elect and non-elect. Placing that immediate reference of the religious consciousness to Christ at the head, he is forced, even though he leaves the entire hierarchical system untouched, still to admit those consequences, by which the hitherto separating wall between priests and laymen must be broken down, the idea of the universal priesthood revived, Christianity made to appear as a principle of purification from all that is of the world, the priestly character restored to the entire life, and the distinction of an inferior and a higher position in Christian life, the severance of the *consilia* and the *præcepta* done away with. "Every Christian," says he, "is already an anointed man, and a priest;"—where he refers for proof to the well-known passages of the New Testament relating to this point. Attacking from this position the over-valuation of the monastic orders, and denying the spiritual superiority which they arrogated to themselves, he says, "There are many, standing in the opinion of the multitude

* Ut cum magnis laboribus suorum studiorum velint suam justitiam statuere, et per omnia ad modum Aristotelis aut Platonis ceterorumque philosophorum se posse ad vitam virtuosam pervenire per studia propria et virtutes usuales.

† Ecclesia electorum est unicum proprie et solum corpus mysticum Christi Jesu. Words of Janow from the work already cited in the fragment published under the name of Huss, cap. 10, fol. 370, p. 2. A similar passage is also found in the work which has not as yet been published: Ecclesia electorum, quæ proprie et solum est corpus mysticum Christi.

at the very summit of holiness and of Christian religion, who reply to those inquiring after the shortest way to salvation, that there is no other except to serve Christ after a perfect manner in this or that order; so certain is it to every one, that a person belonging to such an order is seldom or never condemned, and that he who enters such an order is as speedily delivered from all punishment and guilt, as if he were born anew of water and the Spirit. He who questions this, exposes himself to an irreconcilable war." He vigorously attacks this opinion, the supposed opposition between spirituals and seculars. "It is evident, that to style Christians the *world* and *seculars* is a calumnious misrepresentation." He cites the words of Christ,—“That which is born of the Spirit, is spirit.” “One of the greatest trials that Christ’s chosen can meet with is this, that when a Christian, whatever he may be, man or woman, virgin or widow, is heartily inclined to do penance for his or her sins, and to serve Jesus Christ in an orderly manner, if such a person lives in the midst of the Christian community, and thus consecrates his life to Christ with a view to live more perfectly in the simplicity of the spirit, and for suitable reasons does not enter one of those monastic orders, he must at once suffer persecution from them and from his own associates, must be looked upon as a heretic, and be called by the vulgar a Beghard, a Beguine, a Turlepinus, or by some such reproachful epithet. Such an one must be called up and put on trial, to determine whether he is a heretic.” From this and similar utterances of Matthias we find, what is confirmed also by other indications in the history of these times, that those who distinguished themselves among the laity by a more earnest and strict piety than common, and more especially societies composed of such persons, were very sure to be objects of jealousy, to be stigmatised as heretical, and persecuted by the monastic orders; while, on the other hand, they were derided and treated with abuse by the common nominal Christians. Beghards was a nickname applied in the same way at that time as Pietists at a later period, by an ambitious clergy, zealots for the letter of orthodoxy, and by the vulgar people of the world. After this, Matthias of Janow says: “Wherefore the men of Christ, who live in the midst

of our present Christians, must either enter into some monastic order, or else do their works of charity only in secret." In a passage where he places the laity on a par with ecclesiastics as to their title to daily or frequent communion, of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter, he says: "Although the priest or minister of the church has precedence over the holy laity in this, that it belongs to him to offer, to consecrate, and to distribute the body of Christ, yet they are equals as it regards the enjoyment of the Holy Supper; and although the priest has a nobler and more eminent vocation in the church than any layman, yet every layman who, in a right and holy manner, fulfils his calling or his service in the church, is alike useful to the priest and to the church, because at his own proper position, a position quite as necessary for Christ's body, he serves Christ in his vocation, and therefore earns from him his daily bread, if he does but live just as uprightly and faithfully to the Lord Jesus, and as long as he perseveres, as he should do, in the vocation to which God has called him. As the priest, singing, praying, and administering the sacraments thereby serves our common Lord, Jesus Christ, and is therein useful to the church; so the peasant in ploughing, and pasturing his cattle, as long as he stands fast in the common love, serves the Lord Jesus Christ, and is necessary and useful to his family or to the holy church. The same holds good of other laymen such as tradesmen and artisans in civil society.* For as it would fare ill with the church of God to be without priests or soldiers, so neither could she dispense with, or even subsist without, peasants and men of other occupations. As the manner of calling and the works of the former are necessary, so too are the various callings and works of the latter. And as the calling of the former and its exercise comes to them from Jesus Christ, so the various callings and employments of the latter have come from God and Christ; the calling

* Sicut sacerdos psallens et orans atque sacramenta administrans per hoc servit communi Domino Jesu Christo, et in eo est utilis ecclesiæ, ita rusticus arando et sua pecora pascendo manens in communi caritate similiter in eo ipso optime servit Jesu Christo, et est utilis et necessarius ipsius familiæ vel ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ, et ita de aliis singulis laicis mechanicis in republica.

of the latter, indeed, is more primitive and more indispensable than that of the former, since the occupation and practice of husbandry and of the other trades existed earlier than that of the priest. Countrymen and soldiers do not exist for the sake of priests, but priests for the sake of the peasantry and the soldiers." He endeavours to show, that the term saint is to be applied to every Christian, whose life answers to his name, although there are different degrees in the application of this name, as there are in progressive sanctification. "The term Christian," he remarks, "denotes a man sanctified by baptism; which, by another name, is called unction; hence the Christian is one anointed. So one is called a saint in virtue of that sanctifying grace,* which is realised by a meritorious life and the virtues. This sanctifying grace, however, and the first baptismal grace are substantially the same; the only difference being that sanctifying grace consists in the good use of that first grace.† And thus every Christian, so far as he is such, is a saint; since he has been sanctified by the first baptismal grace; just as every saint must, by reason of his holy walk and virtues, be a true Christian. All who have been sanctified, have been sanctified by the anointing of grace, and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus; and hence it follows, that every Christian is a saint and every saint a Christian; and, as one cannot have the use of grace without its habit, so one cannot be a Christian and at the same time not a saint. Do not object to me the bad Christians, who have lost the first grace by reason of their misuse of it; for these are not Christians—save as the term is improperly understood—any more than the painted figure of a man is a man. But if you object that the baptismal sign and the *fides informis* are to be found even in bad Christians, and that this is enough to entitle one to the name of Christian, I answer, that the mere sign,

* The gratia gratum faciens.

† Nec differt in alio, nisi quod gratia gratum faciens est bonus usus gratiæ gratis datæ seu gratiæ primæ. When St. Paul says, "By grace I am what I am," he makes this refer to that objective grace which may be used in different ways according to the different bent of the will, the gratia gratis data; but when St. Paul says, "and this grace was in me not in vain," he makes this refer to grace in the second, subjective sense.

if the grace be not present, is not enough either to make one a Christian, or to entitle one to the name of Christian ;" where he introduces the following comparison : " A hoop hung out before a house " (this, in Bohemia, must have been the sign of an inn) " still does not make the place an inn, if there is no wine in the house." Those, he supposes, who merely made profession of Christianity, with whom it was no more than an outward mask, their lives testifying against their profession, deserved rather to be called anti-christians than Christians. But though every Christian is a saint, every Christian is not equally so ; but there are different degrees of holiness among a Christian people. " While man remains in the present life, the way of progress in holy living is ever open before him, this entire life being either a progression or a retrogression." He attacks here those mystical Beghards, condemned in the year 1311 at the council of Vienne, who held that man may, in the present life, reach the stage of perfection, that he may become absolutely sinless, so as to be incapable of further progress in grace ; arguing that if continual progress were possible, one might become more perfect than Christ. Now he supposes that though degrees of progressive development infinitely different are conceivable, yet the fathers have distinguished three principal stages : that of beginners, that of the progressive, and that of the perfect ; or, the married, widows, and virgins. He rebukes the pride of the clergy. Did a man offend a clergyman, the bolt of excommunication was pointed at him forthwith ; but did *he* injure a layman, the wrong doer escaped with impunity. " By the just judgment of God we are," says he, " fallen like Lucifer." In the contempt poured upon the clergy, that is, he recognises a merited divine judgment. So in animadverting upon the false distinction of spirituals and seculars, and hierarchical self-conceit, while he gives distinct prominence to that fellowship of the community of saints which excludes every selfish feeling, he remarks : " This union cannot be restored, unless those are first excluded, who are sunk in self-love, and in place of them the number of those is multiplied who are zealous for that union of the church, and, which is still more, who serve the cause of Christ rather than their own interests." He points not only

at such as sought their own advantage in earthly things, but at those too, who in the spiritual life made their own interest alone the end, far removed from that love to common Christendom consisting of the perfect and the imperfect, the righteous and the weak. They, he says, who begin with despising the common manners of their fellow-Christians, who begin with extolling in particular their own societies and brotherhoods, as compared with others, mar by this course the unity of the Christian church and disturb Christian peace. They begin by thinking highly of themselves, and would exalt themselves above the common mass of Christians, hold themselves to be the only spirituals and apostolicals, and call the great mass of other Christians Babylon and the world; they pretend that they alone fulfil the counsels of Christ, that the people neither can attain nor ought to attain the same perfection. Nor is it necessary to salvation; they are only bound to it by their vows. Thus from the position which he uniformly maintains, the great principle of the oneness of the Christian life, Matthias of Janow carries on his attacks against the false distinction of clericals and seculars, and, at the same time, against a distinction grounded upon the same views, which had stood good for so many centuries, and had been adopted by the scholastic theology into the concatenation of its system, whereby it was more firmly established, the distinction of *concilia* and *præcepta*. After the words above cited, he remarks: "Applying all this to themselves alone, and excluding the people, they set up themselves as objects of the greatest veneration, thereby promoting in the rest of the people great freedom of the flesh, the relaxation of all Christian discipline, and great self-deception on the part of the simple, who plead in excuse of themselves, we are worldly people, living in the flesh; we may be permitted to have this or that." And if there happen to be in Christian communities persons who seek to reach, according to their measure, evangelical perfection in their mode of life, as poverty, chastity, obedience to their spiritual superiors, the other ordinary Christians will soon persecute them. He illustrates this by the same facts which we have noticed already, that the monks from jealousy persecuted such persons under the name of Beg-

hards and Beguines, telling them that if they wanted to lead a life of that sort they should become monks. What have you to do with the world? What have you in common with the people of the world? "Hence it comes about that among the common laity, no pious people are to be found." He complains that those who were devout among the laity were suspected; and yet they were best qualified by word and example to advance and confirm the progress of others. And since such saints were the people's neighbours, were regarded by them as equals with whom they associated in the daily business of life, they might easily provoke imitation in everything; which could not happen in the case of the monks, who stood so far apart from the people in their calling, and in their modes and habits of life.* The conduct of these devout people being looked upon by the others with suspicion, carnal and lukewarm Christians were led to cherish the delusion, that it was well with them; in spite of their worldly and lukewarm affections they still thought themselves sure of salvation, observing that all who sought to live godly lives among the Christian people were despised by the monks. They were flattered in this their delusion by citations from Scripture falsely interpreted. He gives the following as an example: "There is no better thing than to lead a moderate life, and not to differ too much from the rest of the world; for no men are worse than those who would be righteous overmuch."

With this zeal in maintaining the universal priesthood of the faithful, the equality of Christian worth and dignity in all orders and professions, Matthias united the deepest interest in another object, one which then formed a weighty point of controversy between the different parties concerned, the question relating to the frequent or daily communion of laymen. While in the seventeenth century, in the Catholic church of France, it was thought an indication of greater Christian seriousness, greater zeal for true conversion, to invite laymen to abstain for awhile from the communion, in order to prepare themselves for the more

* Et quia per id, quod sunt tales sancti, vulgo intimo propinqui pares in vita et commixti in contubernio, imitabiles facilliter in omnibus, quæ nequaquam sunt vel possunt esse in monachis et religiosis, qui extant nimis longinqui in vita sua et professione a plebibus.

worthy participation of it, and avoid the mistake of using it as an *opus operatum*, the case seems to have been exactly reversed in the period of which we are speaking. The party who were most zealous to awaken the laity and promote their Christian advancement, of whom Matthias of Janow may be considered a representative, were urgent for inviting the laity to this frequent participation, inasmuch as this sacrament was the best means for promoting Christian growth, for exciting and strengthening faith: but the opposite party feared lest the laity should be put on a level with the clergy. Matthias of Janow took the liveliest interest in this controversy. He was ever falling back upon it, and indeed wrote a paper on the subject, which is incorporated in the greater work already mentioned. The stamp of his whole peculiar Christian bent is impressed upon these polemical transactions; and it deserves to be noticed that he uniformly expresses himself as if he thought the laity also were entitled to partake of the communion in both kinds. Many of the arguments which he adduces admit of being equally applied to show that the laity may partake of the cup as well as of the bread, and ought not, in this respect, to be placed lower than the clergy; and we cannot doubt, that the recognition of the equal right of the laity in this matter also, lay at the bottom, as he everywhere tacitly assumes it. "It is," says he, "doing God and Christ the greatest wrong, for one to deny himself or others the frequent partaking of the body of Christ." He assumes that God, who in the highest sense belongs to all, and is in the highest sense good, and incapable of any respect to persons, must take delight in all who are willing to receive him.* He cites the passages where Christ invites men to his fellowship. He appeals to the analogy of the Old Testament, to the daily sacrifice, which corresponded to the Lord's supper;† here, too, were bread and wine, just as both must be together in the holy supper.‡ He com-

* Quia Deus summe communis et summe bonus sine acceptatione personarum, in omnibus, qui eum suscipiunt, vult delectari.

† The jure sacrificium.

‡ Propter quotidianam frequentiam et propter dualitatem utriusque speciei, panis et vini, a quibus hoc sacrificium integratur. Here we may perceive that the necessity of the two kinds is expressly assumed.

plains that, in his time, this daily sacrifice had ceased, as the vain people had generally, or for the most part, forsaken the daily or frequent enjoyment of the supper, and approached it but once, or hardly *once* in a year; and then, in the case of many, it was done not from devotion, but only from hypocrisy, or a sort of constraint, which each laid on himself; and it was already looked upon as an abuse, to be always participating in the Lord's supper. There had arisen a Judaizing set, who tried to dissuade the people from the practice of daily communion. He declaims against priests so destitute of all love towards the Christian people,* who cruelly kept away the hungry and thirsty flock from provisions which were their own,† and who set themselves to oppose others who took delight in feeding the poor. He reminds his opponents of Gamaliel's language in the Acts of the Apostles. The effects of frequent communion among the laity were appealed to in defence of the practice and as a proof that the thing was of God. In those priests who exhorted the people to frequent communion, he sees true Christian love; and speaks of their animating influence on the laity. Desire for the frequent enjoyment of the communion, he said, was on the increase among the laity; and it would continue to rise higher in proportion to the fervency of devotion among the Christian people. We here meet with a remark relating to the incipient renovation of the religious life, which deserves notice. "It is already well known," he says, "that the spirit of devotion and the glow of charity is reviving among the communities, and the words of our sermons rise to life again, because the Spirit of Jesus works in them." He repels the insinuation, that the celebration of mass, in which all partook *spiritually*, the *spiritual* participation of the Lord's supper *in faith*, is enough. It might suffice for an angel, but not for men, composed of soul and body. If that were true, there was no need of the incarnation of the Son of God, and the institution of the holy supper itself would be superfluous. He who voluntarily deprives him-

* Impii, qui refugiunt, cum plebibus laborare, sine fœdere, sine pia ad populum affectione.

† Plebejis esurientibus et sitientibus suum cibum et potum crudeliter denegant.

self of the bodily enjoyment of the holy supper, deserves also to be deprived of the spiritual enjoyment of it. "For," says he, "the experience of every year teaches, that they who come to the communion but once a year, or but seldom, do for the most part fail also to participate in the *res sacramenti*; for such persons come to the ordinance in the spirit of bondage, and remain strangers to the holy joy, the sober bliss of the spirit of Christ."* They show it by this, that they look forward to that day and that hour in a spirit of slavish fear, instead of hailing it with joy. They are only driven to the observance by the custom of their church and the prescription of their teachers; and they rejoice when the season is over, and do not wish for its return, thinking they are now free to live as they list. They who esteemed themselves unworthy, and abstained from the communion through humility, should be encouraged the more; because they truly humbled themselves, they were worthy of being exalted by God. Christ came to bring down the lofty, and lift up the lowly. He thinks that as worldly priests cared nothing for the laity, and never invited them to the frequent enjoyment of the holy supper, it would be no rashness in the latter to demand the enjoyment of this bread which was meant for them. He refers to Christ's words: He that is not *with* me, is *against* me; he that *gathereth* not with me, scattereth abroad. But that man is not with Jesus, who, though bound to do so, yet neglects to provide for the salvation of those souls that seemed placed in his way. Was it objected, that the dignity of the priests would suffer by so doing, he would answer: "The man who speaks thus plainly evinces that he is a man actuated by a zeal that is without knowledge, for he censures as an impropriety, what he would certainly wish to take place if he were animated by the good Spirit of God." He appeals to the words of Moses, who wished that all might be prophets. But these, filled with the spirit of envy, would be lords. When they complained of the zeal of the laity to enjoy frequent communion, they resembled the Jews who said, "Perceive ye how ye prevail

* Accedunt enim timore servili, et in nullo tales gustant spirituale gaudium vel aliquid dulcedinis spiritus Jesu.

nothing? behold, the world has gone after him!" (John xii. 19.) He affirms that many of the laity were not inferior in virtue, in meritorious works, in love of the sacraments, to the priests; it was here also true that soldiers, harlots, and publicans went into the kingdom of heaven before the scribes and Pharisees. Though laymen should partake daily of the Lord's supper, yet they would not for this reason be placed on a level with the priests; for the laity would still be the people, and the priests would, by virtue of their calling, still be set over them. If, they said, the priests would be less revered, the direct *contrary* would prove to be the fact, because the people, in the case supposed, would be more attached to their priests, would cling to them more closely as they received from them *greater* benefits and more frequently, as the sheep cluster around their shepherds from whom they receive their food; so because the priests would be compelled to labour more for their communities, to hear their confessions, and to bestow on them the sacrament, whence would naturally spring up greater love and gratitude towards them; and because this love in them would be renewed, the Lord being in the midst of those gathered together in his name, he who produces in the hearts of subjects the obedience due to their superiors; and because it is the first and most excellent fruit of this sacrament to bind the church (which is Christ's body) and its members, each in its own place, with Christ. Such was the power of this sacrament to make the multitude of the people *one*. It was now objected that the case of priests differed from that of laymen; because priests were, by their office, obliged continually to hold mass; hence they were the more excusable if they were not always prepared to partake worthily of the supper. To this he replies: they sinned not the less, but far more by their unworthy participation, because the character, the position and calling of unworthy priests, were a great grievance. He attacks those famous men who had taught in their writings that women in particular ought to be discouraged from frequent communion; he opposes to them the Christian principle that all such distinctions are annulled in the new creation; as it is said, One Father, one Spirit, one faith, one Lord, one baptism for all. Weakness

was no reason for such exclusion; for God had chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty. He next speaks against the prohibition put forth probably in the year 1389, by the synod of Prague, against the frequent communion of the laity,* and remarks: "Those modern hypocrites, doctors and prelates, who live without God, know not what they are about, and what sort of an ordinance the continual sacrifice of the Lord in the church is." It was so called, not because the priests continually celebrated and enjoyed it, but because the holy church offers and enjoys it in common. He appeals to Christ's words, which are addressed to all: Take and eat. He retorts the objection drawn from the words of the apostle Paul respecting unworthy participation. The apostle does not discourage Christians *generally* from daily partaking of the holy supper, but the unworthy, that they might make themselves worthy of it, and take more pains to sanctify themselves for it. He admonishes them; he does not dissuade, but teaches in what way they ought to present and enjoy this sacrament.

On this subject Matthias of Janow composed an express treatise in the form of a letter. He explains why he complied with his friend's invitation that he should write something on the matter in question. "For," says he, "I bethink me thou must be concerned for the welfare of thy neighbours, and especially of the common people, since thou art desirous they should all be more often united to Christ by partaking of his precious body and blood; which certainly must come from thy good heart through the working of the Holy Spirit; for I was also incited to write something on this subject by the false zeal of some." He then mentions the various motives and reasons which influenced those who opposed the daily communion of the laity. "Some," he says, "carry an outward show of zeal for the Lord, yet not with knowledge; and they pretend that they would thereby preserve the reverence which is due to the sacrament. These," he says, "entertaining too carnal views of the sacrament, fear where there is no reason for fear, lest our Lord Jesus should suffer anew, in

* See further on p. 336.

this sacrament, some violence, or contempt, or injury; whereas our Lord having once died, death hath no more power over him in any way; for, in giving his now spiritual body, which is no longer capable of suffering, to the whole world and to each individual, richly to enjoy, he nevertheless suffers no change in himself. They evince their sympathy with the Lord Jesus too foolishly in this, that they are so hard towards their neighbours. They are cruel towards the members of Christ. Those foolish and unfaithful servants, who are set over but a few things, are friends to those who lead bad lives, and by their bad lives every day throw contempt on the sacrament, and they favour their party. Others fear to extend this sacrament to the people, lest they should hazard the safety of their own souls." Christ, however, had presented the sacrament to the unworthy Judas, and the church had never decreed that any not unworthy could be kept back from the enjoyment of the holy supper. He argues, on the other hand, that even though the laity should partake of the communion but once a-year, there might still be many among them unworthy. "Others," says he, "do not enter upon any such arguments, but contend only from love of strife and the heat of passion, against the frequent communion of the laity." He next mentions those who proudly despised the poor among the people, and were afraid that by frequent communion they would be put too much on a level with themselves.* He quotes some of their characteristic language: "Those Beghards and Beguins are striving hard to put themselves on a level with the priests." He says of them: "They desire not to know that to all Christ's faithful it has been said, Ye are a royal priesthood;" and he brings up the passages referring to this point in the Apocalypse. In attacking the wall of separation erected by the hierarchy between clergy and laity, and bringing distinctly up to notice the work of the Holy Spirit among laymen, he does not forget to apply the same principles of reasoning also to the female sex. He notices the fact that, in his time, there were women of distinguished piety, whose

* *Hi sunt, qui ferme quemlibet de plebe dedignantur, bestias et Ribaldos pauperes plebeios audaciter nuncupando.*

lives presented a strong contrast to the corrupt world. "As before," he says, "in comparing laymen with monks and priests, it was remarked that our Lord having rejected the wise of this world on account of their pride and hypocrisy, would the more abundantly reveal his salvation to the little ones among the people; so, in comparing men and women, something similar might be said with regard to the recipiency of the latter for the gifts of Christ. Whereas men commonly, at the present time, conscious of their natural gifts, do not know how to humble themselves and to bear the reproach of Christ; or if they have the advantage in some gifts of grace, directly ascribe it, in their self-complacency, to efforts of their own, and so do not prove loyal to the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore God and Jesus Christ, forsaking such men, transfers his treasures to women; for he has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty (1 Cor. i. 27). And hence women are to be found in these times, virgins and widows, who zealously do penance, hasten to the holy sacraments, and take the kingdom of God before the men, who are occupied with the vanities of this world. Hence we may observe, how the ordinary women fill the churches at prayers, occupy the seats at sermons, present themselves before the priests for confession, seem to be full of sobs and tears, receive daily, in constant devotion and with joy, the holy supper, forsake the pomp of the world together with its pleasures, are ever abounding in love to Christ, ever thinking on the cause of the Lord, and joyfully and thankfully receiving manifestations and visions of the Lord. Thus the women are a hundredfold more rich in spiritual blessings, in these times, than the men." He then refers to the examples of Hildegard, of Brigitt in Sweden, and of many other women whom he had known in Paris, Rome, and Nuremberg,* and of still more in Prague; "and how I admired the Lord Jesus in his works."† "They," says he,

* We are here reminded that Nuremberg was a seat of the Friends of God, and of Margaret Ebnerin and her connection with Henry of Nördlingen. Vid. Hermann's *Opuscula*, p. 331, seq. Perhaps there was some connection between the Friends of God in this district and the friends of reform in Bohemia.

† See Jordan, *Vörläufer des Hussitenthums in Böhmen*. S. 62.

“who admire the rich men of this world because they can gain a good deal out of them, are priests to whose eyes the mighty monarch of this world appears as one to be feared and revered, even though he be a man of crime, but who abuse and despise them that fear God. When a rich man comes to such, and asks them to hear his confession, or to offer him the sacraments, oh how readily and cheerfully do they bestow them on him! But when the poor of the flock beg them to hear their confessions and give them the communion, they do it with difficulty and after long delay, and as if they were tired of the business; but if they demand the sacraments of the church repeatedly, these men begin to mutter that they give them the headache, or to complain that they take up too much of their time, and finally the poor are repelled away, not without signs of impatience.” He maintains that “every Christian to whom the frequent or daily *spiritual* participation of the body of Christ is granted, will also be in a suitable frame for the frequent or daily enjoyment of the communion, because he who is worthy of that which is granted only to the holy, is also worthy of that which is granted alike to the bad and the good. This *spiritual* participation through devotion and faith, is a thing which God alone produces in man; as Christ himself says: It is the spirit that maketh alive, the flesh profiteth nothing. But in the distribution of the holy supper, which serves to the increase of grace in those who worthily partake, the minister of the church is the co-operating agent.” Again: “What the Holy Ghost has wrought in a human soul, no man should destroy. But the fervour of devotion is what the Holy Ghost has wrought, and hence the hungering and thirsting after the frequent enjoyment of the Lord’s supper. For assuredly this thirsting after the sacrament, which arises from the devotion of faith, is itself a work of the Holy Ghost,” and he cites the words of Christ in which he invites every one that thirsteth to himself. “This thirsting,” he observes, “is certainly one way in which the Father draweth to the Son. This work of the Holy Ghost, this drawing of the Father to the Son, is what he would destroy who presumes in any way whatever to forbid it.” Referring to the words of St. Peter in Acts x. 47, he finely remarks: “Who will dare refuse

the bodily sacrament to those, on whom the spiritual grace has been bestowed by God himself? Hence it follows, certainly, that every Christian who has that faith in Christ, which works by love, may often worthily receive the body of Christ; every one who believingly attends mass, and who devoutly, with heart and lips, confesses himself a sinner, is worthy of it, and it is for his benefit that he should partake at the mass of the body of Christ." But few, and those notorious sinners, should be excluded from the communion; as, for example, adulterers, harlots, usurers. But such persons when excluded should be publicly named; so that the faithful may understand that no fellowship is to be had with such in the sacraments, and avoid the contagions of their bad example. They, too, who give public scandal by their vices ought on every Sunday to be publicly and solemnly named, and debarred from the sacraments.* He places in the same class such as go indecently or too extravagantly dressed, which is an evident mark of pride, so that no reasonable ground of excuse can be offered for it. He refers to an ordinance relating to this matter put forth by the archbishop of Prague,† and to another by pope Urban VI., the promulgation of which had been witnessed by himself during his residence in Italy.‡ He affirms that beginners and those moving forward in the Christian life stand in more need of the sacraments than the perfect, for instance the saints in bliss. He compares the communication of Christ in the holy supper with milk offered to babes. Thus the incarnate Word lets himself down to man's wants and weaknesses, mystically communicating himself to them under the outward forms of bread and wine.§ Thus it happens that the believer, who partakes

* Quales sunt, qui deportant calceos rostratos in pedibus, aurum et argentum robis, cornuti in pedibus in barbis et omnes induti veste bottata et peregrina.

† Jam nostris temporibus archiepiscopus Pragensis Johannes publice excommunicari præcepit hujusmodi filios Belial, qui defendebant rostra in calceis et cornutas vestes et impudicas; nam tempore, quo scribo, coram Jesu sum testis illius, et stabam ante foras templi, vetans tales anathemate percussos divinis officiis interesse.

‡ See above, page 277.

§ Corpus Domini et sanguis est lac datum pueris, ut suggerent, lac de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo, quia verbum caro factum est, ut

only of bread and wine, and, by this act in itself considered, experiences no spiritual enjoyment, but is brought in contact with the forms of bread and wine only with his senses, cannot fail by earnest striving to attain to such a frame as to imbibe the sweet spirit of devotion into his inmost soul, and to taste and see how good the Lord is;* and thus he is nourished and strengthened and refreshed in spirit. This is, for mankind, a rock; a rock of refreshment for him to whom it has been given to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock: a flinty rock to carnal-minded men, who perceive not, in this venerable sacrament, the things of the Spirit of God; "and for this reason they lightly esteem it, and take no pains to secure the frequent enjoyment of it; they make no haste to this holy supper." It is the flintiest rock to the Jews and the Greeks, to him who believes not, and says, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? (John vi.) "But to us, who are in Christ Jesus, and believe God, and in him have tasted the good word of the Lord, to us it is sweet indeed as the mother's nourishing breast." The laity were often more worthy, by reason of their free spontaneous longing, than mere priests by vocation. The faithful, god-worthy longing of such laymen was evidenced by this, that nothing could keep them back; they forsook everything in this world, their homes, their yokes of oxen,† their wives. "All that was gain to them, they counted as loss, that they might so win Christ, by often and gladly partaking of his body and blood." He goes on to describe the longing of these pious laymen, and to show what sacrifices they made to satisfy it. "They

homo sic panem angelorum manducaret, sicque digessit verbum caro factum, et miro modo composuit in eucharistia, ut essent manna absconditum et omnis multitudo dulcedinis sacramento sub speciebus panis et vini abscondita, quemadmodum lac puero matris ejus celatum est in mamillis, et veluti puer nullum vestigium lactis videns suis oculis, laboriose sugens ubero, in intimis suis dulcedinem percipit, quandoque pascitur et valde delectatur.

* Ita prorsus quilibet fidelis nulla suavitate speciem Jesu ab eo in hoc sacramento percipiens, sed solum species panis et vini sensibus suis tractans, tum per conatus et laborem interioris hominis sugit hunc devotionis spiritum suavem in medullis suæ animæ, et degustat, quam suavis est Dominus.

† Doubtless with allusion to the excuses offered in the parable of the marriage supper.

demand it humbly of their priests if it can be done; and, if refused, they press them with still more importunity, begging, adjuring them, and requiring it of them till they grow tiresome. And when they find themselves repulsed in every way by the inferior clergy, from ignorance, negligence, or pride, they apply next to priests of a higher degree, to the bishops and their officials, and never cease, timid as they may be, unpleasant as they may find the duty, to urge and entreat, that they would procure for them a more frequent presentation of the Lord." He affirms that no unworthiness of the Christian, if he be but conscious of it, and make confession of it, can unfit him for the frequent or daily enjoyment of the communion. The contrary rather holds good. If a person deems himself worthy or holy, and boasts of being so, this makes the Christian unworthy; for it is pride and the worst kind of hypocrisy.* Any Christian who in this present life held himself to be worthy of the daily communion, and professed as much of himself, whatever position that Christian might hold, and however much he might surpass others in virtue, and who looked upon others as unworthy, that man was alone and especially unworthy. The holy supper appears to him to be the highest act of worship, one with which nothing else was to be compared; and if it was objected that yet the celebration of the high festivals consisted in song and prayer, and the grand and imposing variety of holy ceremonies; he replied, Still all this was not to be compared with the act of partaking of the festival of the Lord in spirit and in truth. All this, says he, song, prayer, preaching, is but a preparation for the festival, and a certain participation in the fellowship with Christ; but after all it was not the true and spiritual festival of Christ, for it was not the bread that came down from heaven. He says: "Nominal Christians, worldly Christians, those of a carnal mind, who have not the Spirit of Christ, never partake freely, with great

* Est hic advertendum, quod omnis indignitas in Christiano allegabilis undecunque, si est cognita et confessa in veritate, non facit eum indignum quotidiana vel crebra communione, sed magis e contrario: omnis dignitas moralis credita vel confessa de se ipso dignitas vel sanctitas, illa nimis facit indignum Christianum, quia est superbia et hypocrisis pessima, cœca et mendosa.

desire and thankful heart, of the body of Christ; but, as often as they come to the sacrament, it is done with constraint, through the force of a custom observed from childhood, or from slavish fear." He compares the way in which the Christian assimilates this spiritual food and takes it up into his being, with the assimilating process in the case of natural food. "The sinner," he says, "is at the first unlike Jesus Christ; but, by degrees, faster or slower, the life and spirit of the sinful man become transformed into the spirit and life of Jesus Christ, and pass into the most intimate union with him, no longer to be separated by any human power." He cites a remark from St. Augustin, where the latter represents Christ as saying, in relation to the holy supper, It is not thou who art to transform me into thyself, as the food for my body, but thou art to be transformed into me. "And this is preëminently the way in which God is glorified, and wonderfully appears in his saints, that that Word, from whom all things have sprung, *in whom and by whom* are all things,—of whom it is said, that he shall at last be all in all,—does in this way draw back again and transform all things into himself."* He then complains that the holy supper should in his own days be so commonly neglected among Christians, that they no longer earnestly endeavoured to have their spirit transformed into the life and Spirit of Christ, but rather hindered it. It seemed to be their great end and aim to have a comfortable and quiet life in the world. They did not strive to be transformed into Christ, but longed and laboured, as much as in them lay, that Christ should be transformed into themselves; they sought not to become like to Jesus Christ, but desired rather that Jesus Christ should be like to themselves:† which was the greatest imaginable wrong, the very sin of

* Quod illud verbum, ex quo omnia, in quo omnia et per quod omnia, quod ultimo dicitur esse omnia in omnibus, tali modo et via in se ipsum iterum convertit et digerit omnia.

† Nec satagunt, digne vitam suam carnalem et spiritum suum vacuum et inanem converti in vitam et Spiritum Jesu Christi, quinimo impediunt, quia de facto ad hoc se ponunt, ut bonam vitam, seu delicatam et quietam habeant in hoc mundo. Non laborant in Christum commutari, sed cupiunt et quantum in se est, faciunt, Christum in se ipsos converti, non desiderant esse Christi Jesu similes, sed Christum Jesum cupiunt esse similem sibi ipsis.

Lucifer. It was a thing unworthy of this glorious sacrament, to think of compelling men to partake of it. This never should be done except in the case of those weak Christians who ventured not to come. He blames those that advised people of a wicked life to keep away from the sacrament; for it could in nowise profit them to persevere in their wicked life, and, for this reason, continue to be strangers to the remedy which was the safest for them. Such unworthy persons, therefore, should rather be advised to leave off their wicked life, and in company with the saints go frequently to the Lord's festival. He declares his disagreement with the advice commonly given that every man should examine himself, and, if he found himself unworthy, abstain from the Lord's supper. In opposition to this, he cites the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 28, and lays emphasis on the phrase, *Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat*,—not, and so let him *abstain*. He seems also to infer from these words, that this self-examination was to serve only as a preparation to enable one worthily to partake of the holy supper. He notices another objection: It suffices to receive the holy sacrament but once; for at this one time we receive all. To this he replies: God has given it to his Son alone, to have life in himself so as never to be in need of receiving it anew; but for all creatures it is not enough to have received life once; the life thus received, in order to be preserved, needs to be constantly communicated anew from above; and in order that it may be thus communicated, in order that the natural life in created beings may be continually renewed in them, they require food. But, this holds good too of the true, divine, and blessed life. It is not enough that it should have once been communicated from above through the medium of faith and baptism; for the maintenance of the same, it was requisite that it should ever be given to them anew from the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost, through the medium of the Lord's supper.* “Although,” says he, “our

* Est diligenter notandum, quod Deus Pater soli unigenito Filio dedit, vitam habere in semet ipso ab æterno et substantialiter, et nulli alteræ (?) creaturæ, sed quia omnes creaturæ accipient participationem suæ vitæ a Deo per Filium in Spiritu Sancto, et quod omnes creaturæ accepta vita a Deo, specialiter vita beatifica et perpetua, de qua hic sermo, necesse

Lord gives to Christians the beginning of a life of grace, a blessed life, through faith, as it is written, The just shall live by faith, and through baptism; yet he has in his infinite wisdom ordained this sacrament, and directed Christians to repeat it daily, or at least often, for the purpose of preserving or continuing this life of grace. The Christian, well-grounded in the faith, ought to know that Jesus the crucified is the beginning and the end of his life of grace, in the general and in the particular, because, without him, he can do nothing.* We may understand from these words how Matthias of Janow apprehended the relation of the holy supper to baptism; that through the Lord's supper, the divine life once received in baptism, should be renewedly and ever more completely appropriated in communion with Christ, till it should thoroughly interpenetrate the entire human nature.

Accordingly, to the objection that since eternal life is communicated in the Lord's supper, it is enough to have received it once, he replies: "This does not follow; for God, in his infinite providence, has not so ordained it; but rather thus, that the man who seeks it, and in spirit partakes of it daily, should possess it." He employs the following illustration: "The sun continually gives out his light and communicates that element to our eyes; but he that would take the sunlight into his eyes and enjoy the blessing of it, must have his eyes turned to the light, and be susceptible of its influences; and he must *constantly* receive the light from the sun, or as often as he would use it. But if he shuts his eyes, or from some accident ceases to receive the light constantly radiating from the sun, he

habere, eam accipere a Deo suo, et quod non sufficit semel accipere vitam suam a Deo in præsentia, sed necesse habet continue respicere, et pro vita sua conservanda et continuanda, et Deum solum requirere ad hoc. Igitur per hoc Deus omni creaturæ viventi secundum suam specialem sapientiam atque suavitatem ordinavit cibum et apposuit, ut sic per cibi sui proprii crebram vel continuam sumptionem continuaret delectabiliter et suaviter suam vitam.

* Licet Dominus dat principium vitæ gratiæ et beatificæ Christianis per fidem, sicut scriptum est: Justus autem meus ex fide vivit, et per baptismum, tamen cum hoc ex immensa sua sapientia et bonitate ordinavit, hoc sacramentum altaris et statuit Christianis iterandum quotidie aut alias sæpe ad eandem vitam gratiæ conservandam et continuandam.

shortly loses the whole, nor is a particle to be had till he turns once more to the sun." He calls the holy supper the food, which has been prepared for and given to men wounded, weak, and blind, to unclean sinners, to those who sigh and mourn over their sins. He complains of the clergy who were not willing to distribute to *these* the food designed expressly for their use, but reserved it for angels, waited for angels, waited for such as led an angel-like life, to come and appropriate it; or who would only partake of it for themselves, because they were called the angels for the people, or were set over them as such; when the truth was, they were neither like the angels, nor set over them, but had been taken from that sinful race of man, and were set among sinful men, and over them. "Such bad stewards," he says, "crush to the earth, in their way of prescribing and of administering penance, the little ones in Christ, by a wisdom which, as it comes not from the Spirit of our most loving and bounteous Saviour, must needs be called a fleshly wisdom. It was their fault that such persons fell back into sin, torn away as they were, so cruelly and violently, from the breast of their mother. He taxes them, namely, with troubling the consciences of these persons by requiring of them too severe a life, and laying on their necks intolerable burdens. He condemns the current opinion that it was quite sufficient for Christian laymen, if, after the preparation of the fasts, they partook of the communion once at Easter festival. "When those days are over," says he, "they soon forget the whole, and fall back again into their old vain habits of life. They relax from the holy discipline they had commenced, and begin once more to put themselves on a level with this vain world, so that the man is scarcely if ever to be found, who, after having gone through his penance and received the holy sacrament, perseveres in the right way, and worthily reforms his life according to the requirements of Christianity." To such outside repentance he applies what Christ says of the evil spirit driven from a man and then returning with seven others still worse than himself. The poor people are thus led to suppose that things forbidden are to be avoided only on fast days, that at these seasons alone penance is necessary to be done, and that it

suffices, for salvation, to confess one's sins and receive the body and blood of the Lord, without once thinking of his passion, or voluntarily suffering with him. "But with all this, they hold fast to the freedom of the flesh, conform in all else to this world, love the world and that which is of it the whole day. The same Christian people," he says, "think they are safely in Christ when, in carnal security, they have observed, according to custom, the things of religion, without any of the true life and spirit of Jesus the crucified. Oh, blindness of Israel!" he exclaims, "oh, fatal mistake! which, if it were possible, might deceive even God's elect; oh, deceitful and partial spirit of Satan; and alas! for the sufferings of the saints, who truly repent, who on account of this communion are insulted and despised by their seemingly pious brethren, and accused of heresy!" He then refers back to an example which had been cited against him, to the case of those old eremites, who could only receive the holy supper at rare intervals, and remarks: "With these persons, it was altogether another affair; they had lived an angel-like life; and what might be true of them, could not be applied to those who were placed amid the conflicts of the world. Those eremites had no priest to distribute the Lord's supper to them. In such cases, the Lord Christ is ever wont to supply, by his own presence, the absence of priests. To the objection that a special preparation is necessary in order to worthy participation in the communion, he replies: The preparation of souls for this festival does not require a forty-days' fast; for the spirit of a Christian must be one ever pressing onward, never retrograding; one ever rising in aspiration and prayer to God; ever open to divine impressions. "But even suppose the spirit not to be in this right state of preparation; yet it may transport itself at once into the proper frame. For spirit and will are not bound to time or to place. For to these conditions men's bodies are subject, but not the soul and spirit; the latter perform their actions in a sphere out of space and time."*

* Quodsi forte est spiritus in eo non præparatus, tunc spiritus potest subito præparari, tum quia spiritus seu mens aut voluntas non requirit tempus, non locum; his enim corpora sunt subjecta, non mens, non spiritus hominis, sed omnino suas operationes agunt extra tempus et locum.

“The activity of the spirit, and especially when turned upon spiritual things, excludes the train of successive motions; for it proceeds from that which is incapable of division, and relates to that which is incapable of division and above space and time, which introduce succession.* Next, a worthy preparation cannot proceed from the spirit of man, but must proceed rather from the spirit of Christ, which is omnipotent, and in which, therefore, no division of successive moments can find place in matters pertaining to its own essence, namely, spiritual things. What is said in holy Scripture of the paschal lamb once offered, has reference only to the one sacrifice offered by Christ; but far from us be the thought that Christians are to celebrate the memory of Christ’s passion only once a year,—a remembrance which ought, on the contrary, to be uninterruptedly present to their minds.”† He supposes the case of a priest who should say to a person wishing to receive the communion, Go away; for to-day thou art unworthy; and come back worthier to-morrow or in a week: in the place of such a person he would reply, I know I am unworthy; therefore it is that I come begging and trembling to thee; because thou hast received in my behalf from my God and Jesus Christ the power to render me worthy who am unworthy, since by thy prayer thou canst absolve me, and by giving me my portion of our daily bread, canst change me into the same; and all that pertains to the making me worthy of that bread I have already, in my perfect will; for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not. But all that which the spirit must further produce out of me and in me, I hope to find in that daily bread. Therefore I beg of you to give me this day our daily bread, and am in haste for it. Thus strengthened and enlightened, and made alive in Christ, I shall in him find a way to accomplish what is already present in my will. But if thou deemest me not worthy

* Tum quia actus mentis et spiritus, præcipue quoad divina, sunt sine motu successivo, quoniam sunt indivisibilia ad indivisibilia supra locum et tempus, quæ deferunt successionem.

† Absit autem hoc a Christianis, quod debeant solum semel in anno agere memoriam dominicæ passionis, quæ continuis momentis debet in ipsorum pectoribus demorari.

to-day to receive from thee the daily bread, as I am *to-day* unworthy, so neither wilt thou present it to me to-morrow because neither to-morrow, nor the next day, nor ever, so long as I live in this body of death and sin, shall I be worthy enough of this our heavenly bread, so far as that itself is concerned. He stands up for the pious laymen who demanded with importunity the daily communion, and vindicating them from the reproach of rashness, declares it rather a work of the grace of God and of necessity. "As regards the former," says he, "I assume it to be well known, that the longing to partake of Christ's body and blood, from faith and love, does not spring from flesh and blood, and *cannot* spring from them; but only from the operation of divine grace or from the spirit of Jesus Christ." He proceeds to speak of those who, bowed down under a sense of their sins, dare not come forward to partake of the holy supper, and remarks that persons in this temper of mind, who are so deeply penetrated with the sense of their own unworthiness, are the most worthy of all. "Hence that person," he says, "is in the end filled with still greater love and ardent longing for the Lord Jesus, who at the very time he falls into such divers temptations, flies to the Lord Jesus, and hurries to his sacrament, and though all would frighten him from it, still answers: Against *him only* have I sinned, and done evil in his sight, and therefore I fly to *him alone*; for though he slay me, yet will I trust in him, and though he thrust me down to hell, still I know that even in this he does what is best, for he cannot do wrong; and I trust that he will also bring me out the pit, He who alone casteth down to hell, and bringeth up therefrom." In this he sees the character of true love, which casteth out fear, which is stronger than death, which many waters cannot quench nor floods drown. When in opposition to these views was held up the necessity of submission to ecclesiastical order, the direction of Christ to his disciples to observe and do whatsoever was bidden them by those who sat in Moses' seat, he answered: "Yes, if they build up the communities and put forth godly commands: but if they knowingly pull them down, and teach men to sin, we are by no means bound to obey them in these things, but ought rather to

follow the inward anointing, which teacheth all things, or the spirit of Jesus Christ, who is everywhere, and especially in God's children, whom he himself directly guides, as the only teacher and true shepherd." It was necessary to obey God rather than men, to try the spirits to see whether they were of God. He affirms, that the primitive priest, following Christ's example, had always *first* taken the holy supper himself, and then distributed it to the others in order. Such had continued to be the practice from the time of the apostles for the period of a thousand years, until in these more recent times, through the increase and spread of sin, this perpetual sacrifice had been abolished. To the objection that the spiritual participation was sufficient he answers: "It is something greater, something more permanently for the saving good of the Christian to eat and drink the incarnate Word in the most inward and real manner, than to hear and believe his words. The truth did not declare that He who speaketh or he who heareth my words, the same shall abide in me and I in him; but Christ repeatedly says: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood remaineth in me and I in him." It was objected by opponents, that the holy supper would by too frequent use become too every-day an affair, and lose its true significance. To this he replies: "Never will Christians grow weary of it: on the other hand, the longer they intermit it, the more will the holy longing for it abate in them, and the pains which they would otherwise take to enjoy it diminish. Another delight, the lust of the flesh, will take possession of the soul, darken it, and cause it to forget that holy joy in the sacrament. By worldliness the spirit is rendered daily more unfit for receiving the holy supper." This truth he finds typified in the behaviour of the Jews with the manna: when they longed after the fleshpots and cucumbers of Egypt, the manna was no longer relished; and when they arrived in the land of promise, and began to busy themselves with cultivating the fruits of the earth, the manna was taken from them. A simple spiritual participation was sufficient, and might be substituted for the bodily, where the longing was present, but for unavoidable reasons could not be satisfied. "By special privilege," he says, "not according

to the common rule, Christ himself brings about in the most hidden manner the spiritual participation of his body by those of whom he knows it to be true, that they worthily long to partake of his body, and would gladly receive it every day, and pray for it, in their prayers to God in the Paternoster and in those of men, the ministers of the church,—Christians who, when they cannot enjoy the privilege of the sacrament, mourn and sigh over the deprivation with an unendurable hunger and thirst—such and such alone does the spirit of Christ visit directly, when and where he pleases, causing them by virtue of his own grace to manducate spiritually and bodily, sometimes in the mass, sometimes *after* the mass, morning or evening, by night or by day, in a secret and invisible manner.”* He reaffirms it over and over that pious laymen stood in no respect whatever inferior to the priests as proper subjects for the enjoyment of the Lord’s supper, but frequently surpassed them in holy simplicity and innocence. In partaking of that sacrament the most important qualification was great simplicity of faith; hence all human science served rather to distract and dissipate, to destroy devotion, fervency of the affections, and stability of faith.† It is evident from the passages above cited that Matthias of Janow constantly presupposes no difference to exist, as to the privilege of the full enjoyment of the holy supper in both kinds, between priests and laymen; and he expressly points to the sacrifices of the Old Testament as antetypes

* Illis dico spiritus Jesu manducationem sui corporis spirituales ex singulari privilegio, non ex communi pacto et ordinatione solusmet operatur intime, quos ipse videt, quam digne affectant Christi corpus manducare et vellent omni die, et hoc rogant et apud Deum in oratione dominica et apud homines et ministros ecclesiæ, et si fieri ipsis sacramentaliter non potest, dolent et ingemiscunt, fame et siti vexati, in spiritu suo et necessitate male patientes; talibus igitur solum occurrit spiritus Jesu Christi, et plurimum si vult et quando vult et cum vult, ex sua gratia faciens ipsos corporaliter spiritualiter manducare, aliquando in missa, aliquando post missam, post prandium, de mane, de vespere, in nocte vel in die, latenter et occulte.

† Simplicitate sancta et innocentia, quo ad hoc ipsis plebejis suffragante præcipue circa beatificum altaris sacramentum, ubi requiritur maxima simplicitas sanctæ fidei Christianæ; et omnis scientia humana ideo magis ibidem venit ad dissipationem, devotionis et caritatis destructionem et in credendo firmitatem.

of this sacrament in as far as both forms belonged to its completeness and integrity;* and, as he says, that the whole multitude should taste the sweetness of the sacrament that is hidden beneath the species of bread and wine, it follows that in his view the whole multitude should partake of both forms of the Lord's supper.†

Matthias of Janow, as we have already remarked in passing, mentions among the signs of the time which indicated the degeneracy of the church, and announced the coming in of Antichrist, the schism between the two popes; and in common with many of the best men of his age he regarded this schism as a symptom of the disordered condition of the church, and an admonition from God designed to bring men to the consciousness of her corruption, and to awaken the longing for her regeneration. This schism he ascribes to the pleasure-pursuing, pomp-loving, worldly spirit of the cardinals. "It never arose," he says, "from any love which the cardinals had for Christ and his church, but from their love of themselves and their love of the world.‡ Nor did this schism tend ultimately to the injury of the church, but was rather a benefit, inasmuch as the kingdom of Antichrist would thereby be more easily and more speedily destroyed. Those days would be shortened for the elect's sake. Besides, the church would get rid of the numberless multitude of hypocrites. He affirms, too, that it was only the external appearance of the church which could be affected by this schism, her essential being was raised above its influence. "The body of the omnipotent and altogether indivisible Jesus Christ, the community of saints, is not divided, neither indeed can be divided:"—that church which, by virtue of its eternal and immutable

* *Sacrificium legis fuit hoc sacrificium—propter dualitatem utriusque speciei, panis et vini, ex quibus hoc sacrificium integratur.*

† *Et omnis multitudo dulcedinis sacramento sub speciebus panis et vini abscondita; and, in the passage above quoted, the important words in this view: Omnes Christiani, quotquot ibidem congregati, sumebant communiter de illo pane coelesti a ministerio et de calice, ita quod primus sacerdos accepit, dehinc dedit omnibus.*

‡ *Cum non ex eo schisma hoc factum est, quod dilexissent Christum Jesum et ejus ecclesiam, sed ex eo, quod se ipsos amaverunt et hunc mundum.*

unity, depends wholly on the unity of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his spirit. As he discovers in the prevailing selfish element the cause of all divisions of the church and of all her corruptions, so it seems to him that restoration of church unity and a reformation of the church can proceed only from the overcoming of that selfish element. He says, the blissful unity of the church can never be truly restored, until men governed by self-love are removed entirely out of the way, and their places filled by those in vastly multiplied numbers who overflow with zeal for the true unity of the church,—men who seek not their own but the things of Jesus Christ; which self-seeking he applies not to those alone who seek their own in the things of this world, but to those also who in *spiritual* things are seeking only to set up themselves and their party, looking down with contempt upon all others.* As one symptom of the fall of the church, and a premonitory sign of the last times, he considers the various oppositions of party, of which each would claim Christ exclusively for itself;—the party of the Roman popes among the Italians, the party of the popes at Avignon among the French, the Greek church, the different orders of monks, spiritual and secular fraternities. Everywhere the cry was: Lo here is Christ, and lo there is Christ. The church was no longer a city on a hill, conspicuous to all, but split into three parts.† But although he reckons schism generally among the signs of corruption, yet the greatest right belonged in his opinion, comparatively

* Ego illos hic puto magis se ipsos amantes et quæ sua sunt inquirentes private, qui non tam in rebus corporalibus et variis, quæ sua sunt quærent, non quæ proximorum vel communitatis Christi fidelium, sed et in rebus spiritualibus et primariis tantum sua commoda inquirent, exsortes ab amore communis fraternitatis Christianæ, qua composita est ex perfectis et imperfectis, ex justis et infirmis.

† Civitas illa magna orbis Christianorum in tres partes de facto est conscissa, sive Romanos ad meridiem, Græcos ad orientem, Francigenas ad occidentem.—Ecce obscuritas solis et lunæ, ut et civitas posita supra montem abscondita et obnubilata, quod videri non possit.—Hodie dicunt Francigenæ cum suo occidentali comitativo: hic est Christus, Italici vero et Romani ad meridiem affirmant dicentes: imo hic est Christus et non alibi. Et ecclesia Græcorum ad orientem asseverat pertinaciter dicens: non ibi nec alibi, sed hic nobiscum est Christus.

speaking, to Urban VI.; and he regarded it generally as a work of Satan and Antichrist, that Clement VI. should gain such power against the *lawful* pope; and that so many persons distinguished even for intelligence could be deceived. "Antichrist," he says, "has exalted himself against the true pope, Urban VI. He has persecuted and killed the saints; and attacked the entire church with such party spirit and craft, that he has drawn wholly over to himself the sacred college of the cardinals and made other colleges wavering, and the whole body of the wise, as, for example, the university of Paris and other universities."

We have already observed, however, since the time of Miltitz, the antagonism between a reform and anti-reform tendency among the clergy and laity had been continually evolving itself. Matthias of Janow was, without doubt, at this time the centre and nucleus of the reform tendency; as we might easily infer, indeed, that he would be, from his principles thus far unfolded; and he himself, in various places, mentions the existence of this antagonism: "They," says he, "who are apostles and preachers of Antichrist, oppress the apostles, the wise men and prophets of Christ, persecuting them in various ways, and boldly asserting, that these ministers of Christ are heretics, hypocrites, and Antichrists.* And since many and mighty members of Antichrist go forth in a countless variety of ways, they persecute the members of Christ who are few and weak, compelling them to go from one city to another by driving them from the synagogues, (excluding them from the fellowship of the church). Whenever one of the society of such Christians ventures to be somewhat more free of speech, and to live more worthily of Christ than is common, he is directly called a Beghard, or by some other heretical name, or merely set down as a hypocrite or fool. If he do but in a small degree imitate his crucified Master, and confess his truth, he will experience at once a fierce persecution from some side of the thick body of Antichrist. If thou dost not live just as they do, thou wilt be judged to be nothing else but a poor superstitious creature or a

* Membra fortia et multa Antichristi.

false guide." This antagonism became strikingly manifest at the remarkable synod of Prague, of the year 1389, when the dominant party pronounced against the principle of reform: that synod by which, as it is said, Matthias of Janow was compelled to make a recantation—particularly of the principles he held in relation to the full participation of the laity in the Lord's supper. There may be some question with regard to the nature of the explanations which he made on this occasion, and which were interpreted as a recantation. It is evident, at least, that subsequently he continued to inculcate the same principles, and was zealously opposed to that synod. Let us listen to his own words on this subject: "Alas! several colleges and the multitude of those who style themselves masters and men of wisdom, lay it down as an ordinance of God in the church, that images of wood, of stone, and of silver, and such like, are to be prayed to and worshipped by Christians, though holy Scripture is in plain and express contradiction thereto:"—where he appeals to the law of the Old Testament. He ingenuously rejects, as we have already shown, the testimony cited from Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen, in defence of this image-worship. Simply on account of this was the reproach of idolatry cast upon the church by Jews and Pagans. "Although a sophist and logician might perhaps defend himself against the arguments used by the Jews, without doing violence to his conscience and his faith, yet the unlearned people of the Christian communities are undoubtedly overcome by them, and seriously injured in purity of Christian faith." The allusion here is to the artificial interpretations and distinctions, employed among the Greeks since the seventh century, and among the Latins since the triumph of image-worship, to defend this image-worship against the reproach of idolatry, and to reconcile it with the purely spiritual worship of God; a method which the synod of Prague seems also to have employed. But Matthias of Janow, a man so watchfully observant of the wants of the people, knew how little capable the simple laity were of comprehending all this, and how much the purity of faith among them must accordingly suffer injury or be disturbed thereby. Hence he remarks: "Teachers

say a great deal in the schools, which ought never to be so preached before the common people; though holy church has tolerated images and figures, and teaches that they may be venerated, yet she has never taught that they should be prayed to or adored." Then, after having shown the corrupting influence of an extravagant image-worship on the religious life, and of the custom of extolling the miracles wrought by them, he remarks: "Yet there are at the present day many great and famous men who hold that such things are of use to the simple; nay, that it is useful to preach such things, because men should piously believe, that such things are of God. God, then, according to what they affirm, has, in these times, passed by his saints and his chosen, and turned his regard to images of stone. And as God has ceased to perform his wonders in his own name and by his word, he now works them through wood and stone.* Or does a holy and faithful God, perhaps, display his power by these images and other such lifeless things? And would he thus, by making that power depend on such images, secure an entrance among his Christian people for the idolatry of the pagans? Or would he, by this, show favour to Satan, that the latter, making himself like God, might, by lying works, be able to appropriate divine honours to himself? Or is it perhaps permitted the great enemy, in punishment of unthankful Christians, to enter into all forms of seduction and falsehood, carrying out through the instrumentality of men that seem to others very pious and holy, but are not so in fact, his work of seduction by performing his signs and wonders through them? They have decided and ordained by synodal decree that it should be preached to the people that they ought piously to believe a divine power resides in wooden images and painted canvas." And he goes on to say: "Who can fail to perceive, how corrupting this must be to the rude and sensuous people, when he but considers that the people of the laity at the present day, who have not the spirit of the Lord Jesus, are not at all able to rise in spirit to spiritual things?"

* Igiturne propterea, quod cessavit Dominus Jesus miracula et virtutes suas in nomine suo et per verbum operari, jam per lapides et ligna operatur?

And he adds: Because some preachers of the church of Christ and of his cross, have not disputed the propriety of the thing in general, that men should have images, but have attacked by sound Christian doctrine the fables and inventions of men and the deceptions of certain individuals,* therefore the above-mentioned men of wisdom have assailed these preachers, held them up to public scorn, and sought in every way to compel them to utter falsehood;† then they have taken advantage of their silence for the present to circulate these stories, the truth of Christ being thus trampled under foot.‡ “How then can that man,” he says, “who sees that the truth stands thus, and judges correctly of individual facts, say or believe otherwise than that those times of Antichrist are at hand, when he finds that such an ordinance has resulted from the long deliberation of our wise men, teachers and doctors of theology and of the canon law, in a solemn and famous assembly? Hence not a man was found among them, to stand forth ingenuously in defence of the truth.” “All that now remains for us,” he says, “is to desire and pray for reform by the destruction of Antichrist himself, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh.” He remarks, again, about that synod of Prague, that the masters who endeavoured to draw away the laity from the frequent participation of the Lord’s supper, had, in fact, forbidden by a synodal decree that this sacrament should be given to the faithful who demanded it oftener than *once* a month. These are his words: “Alas! for myself, they have forced me by their importunate clamour at that synod to agree that the faithful generally should not be invited to daily communion.”

* Quibusdam prædicatoribus ecclesiæ Christi et ejus crucis, eo quod non quidem imagines habendas, sed fabulas et talia fictitia hominum atque deceptiones quorundam sunt aggressi impugnandum per doctrinam sanam Christi.

† Mox hi præfati sapientes, comprehensis ipsis prædicatoribus, eosdem ludibrio publice expositos omnibus modis ipsos mentiri compellere sunt conati.

‡ Dehinc silentium ipsis pro tempore posuerunt, ut proinde fabulæ supra descriptæ promotionem habeant et processum, veritate Christi Jesu siccine in platea corruyente.

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